FASCISM, INTEGRALISM AND THE CORPORATIVE SOCIETY:

CODEX FASCISMO PARTS FOUR, FIVE, AND SIX

Complied and Edited with introduction by

H.R. MORGAN

Fascism, Integralism and the Corporative Society — Codex Fascismo Parts Four, Five and Six

Volume 3

H.R. Morgan

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Note: this book has been censored. The publisher states that it is according to "industry standards"; however, it is because of Federal Government intervention. This material is counter to the Federal governments designs.

H R Morgan

This book is dedicated to Alessandra Mussolini

Alesandra Mussolini

INTRODUCTION

1

IN THIS SERIES presenting pertinent documents that are definitive of the ideology of Fascism, I would like the reader to understand the reason for German National Socialism being excluded. It is not a result of personal prejudices. I have excluded Nazism to maintain clarity. Objectivity is important in any study or presentation of a social political nature whether it is a treatment of 'democracy', Marxism, Libertarianism or any other social political school of thought.

The doctrine and ideology of Nazi Germany is so vast in its implications, translated documents and extensive history that the subject is worthy of its own separate study. Many excellent, though biased, studies of the topic have already been published. For the interested reader I would suggest a work titled *'National Socialist Ideology: Concepts and Ideas'* by **Prof. James B. Whisker**. It is the only unbiased examination of the subject I have seen to date. For a truly accurate and thorough study of the phenomenon Professor Whiskers book is of absolute and vital importance.

Though National Socialism is, in its basic and unmolested state, a definite type of Fascism, its social and domestic national implementation was interrupted by the Second World War. This caused the eventual extremism of its national policies. War is an ugly thing which makes even beautiful things to assume a hideous aspect. And, a country with an intense preoccupation with the issues of race and national aggrandizement is sure to assume a horrible visage. So it is with all nations who go to war whether they are 'democratically' inclined, monarchist, communist, socialist,

etc.

These books on Fascism are meant to serve as a tool. I hope to place into the hands of those interested, for easy access, documents which give the full flavor of the subject. It has been and remains my stated purpose to dig up and uncover documents relating to the development and evolutions of Fascism; and to present them to the people for an unbiased consideration.

This book is meant for the "work—a—day" person who is not only unfamiliar with alternative world outlooks on life, but also with the true realities of the matter. It is understandable that so many citizens are afraid of having to take part in something as distasteful and unsettling as armed rebellion or a social uprising. As North American Fascist agitator, **Ziotio Garibaldi** has stated *"The average person wants to protect their children and live a peaceful life. They see the problems and wish they would just go away. They have been taught from childhood to feel guilty about the way they feel about things. They haven't had the violence fill their back yards and land on their front lawns. Yet. How to convince people who still believe that their government gives a damn about what they think and that they can change things by simply voting."* (translated from Spanish by H. R. Morgan)

This book is for the average person. It is not something that is addressed to the academic intelligentsia. It is not for the self-satisfied ego driven who value their own opinions too much. It is not meant to convince republicans, democrats, liberals, or conservatives.

I intend this book for the hands of youth. I want college students to have this book. I want them to have the chance to think of other things than what they have been force fed in school and through the mass media; I want them to have the chance that the previous generation was never given.

Some, today, like the phrase to "think outside of the box";

I think that people should kick the box away and build their own box; create a better box. People want something more because there is much more to living than constant anger and struggle. They want to be able to feed and clothe their children. They want a better deal at work. They want to find work. The average person wants job security, fair wages, health insurance, dental care, safe and fairly priced housing, safe neighborhoods; they want access to higher education, the ability to purchase healthy food and medicines and to fill up their gasoline tank without going into debt. Until our most radical elements begin to approach their people on this essentially basic and realistic level they shall remain powerless to improve their lives and the lives of future generations.

One of the Fascist movements I have included in this presentation which is following the strategy outlined above is the *Integralist Front* of Brazil. This movement also includes the philosophy of ethnic spirituality and cultural or traditional religious observances.

In the country of Mexico the *Union Nacional Sinarquisto* (National Synarchist Union) not only combines nationalism with religious spirituality, but, also is vigorously active in the daily lives of the Mexican people. **These_two_examples of_Fascism_are approaching_their_people_on_the essentials,_basic_necessities_of_life,_and_the_reality_of the_human_soul.** Read the chapters that I translated from the Portuguese of the 'Manifesto of Guanabara'. It is the most recent valid manifesto put out by the *Frente Integrallismo Brasileira,* formerly *Acao Integralista Brasileira* of **Plinio Salgado**. I also suggest that you read his book titled: **'O Espirito!'** It captures Fascist spirituality in its fulness.

The documents included in this anthology are presented, as they were, with no unnecessary alterations by myself.

Even that which I translated myself are presented in their most direct meanings. They are 'interpretative' translations for the sake of saving the reader so much time and frustration in pursuing hard to find documents and books and needing to spend an excess of time in attaining an understanding of the ideology suitable enough for them to develop a reasonable attitude, whether it is sympathetic to or antagonistic towards Fascism itself.

The reader shall take note of the fact that this book has been 'censored'. So much for "free speech". But, **the publisher insists that what they mis-call "hate speech" must be euphemized or else omitted.** The fad of "political correctness" has done it's worst; but, **this book IS extensively censored.** If the reader desires to read the full and uncensored text of the chapter titled:

'British Integralism: An Exercise in Reality' go on line to the web page ***Integralist Party of Great Britain and Northern Ireland;*** you shall find it in its entirety as ***'Attack #4***—by Comrade Benjamin Noyles.

Still another goal of this book is to clearly demonstrate how Fascism as an ideology never changes, but, that its 'doctrines' differ noticeably from region to region due to the separations of populations and cultures. In it I seek to highlight current Corporate Syndicalist,

Fascist, neo-Nationalist, and Falangist writers and activists. I will be mainly targeting the spiritual and anti materialist aspects of Fascist ideology world wide. Ziotio Garibaldi has written *"Myself, I do not really care; as Mussolini had made abundantly clear, we believe (basically) in the same things and should not allow minor doctrinal differences or personality clashes to interfere with the forward movement of our plans. My job is to give to the world the gist, the ethos, the 'raison d'etre' of our ideology and how it will affect and benefit our Mexican people."* (Translated from the

Spanish by H. R. Morgan)

It is to be a treatise as well as an anthology to include some lengthy quotations from ideological pioneers regarding the need for and realistic methods to protect ethnic and national culture, popular cultural identity and national integrity. I shall not be stressing the non racialist aspects of the ideology this time; I will be including the basic realities of racial-ethnic truths in relation to national collective spiritualities. The old "blood & soil" and the 'forefathers—present generation—and the future of our children' idea is to be a re-occurring theme throughout. This is unavoidable as whether it is Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera of Spain, Marcel Deat of France, Oswald Mosley of England, or Jose Antonio Urquiza of Mexico I am quoting, ethnic values, cultural mores and the norms of traditionalist convictions of the indigenous national populations are the flesh which clings to the bones of the Fascist ideology.

Because of this there are evidenced some solid insights to be offered to the world. These men and women, both were and are, 'realists' before they are anything else. That is, to them, the most important thing. They are cutting through the decades old liberal fantasies and misrepresentations or falsehoods to show once more to the common citizen of their respective countries exactly what the reality of the situation is. I must say, they are good at that.

There is still another topic I would like to address. Here it is; labels and euphemistic denials do not change the facts of the 'matter'. There are still—isms that we all wish were—wasm's. And, the irresponsible use of certain terms for the sole sake of creating 'confusion' among the masses.

Two of the many misleading words are "liberty" and 'liberality"; both imply the false fantasy doctrine of 'Liberalism'. There is a difference between liberalism and

‘liberality—there is an even greater difference between the words liberalism & Libertarianism, and the term ‘liberality’. In order to combat such misnomers we must take an attitude of “Armed thought”—as the Mexican/American Fascist activist Senior Ziotio Garibaldi has stated on many occasions.

2

Fascism is not a “third way” as many are trying to call it these days—the term ‘third way’ implies a direct relationship to the ravaging systems of ‘right wing’ and ‘left wing’, ‘liberal’ and ‘conservative’, in short, of being joined with the political line that runs from left to right. But Fascism is something quite apart. It is a singular ideology that is in revolt against all of the ‘old ways’.

* Fascism is not synonymous with state authoritarianism and the ‘police state’; it is not an ideology that is firmly based in the issue of race.
* There is a difference between ‘doctrine’ and ‘ideology’.
* Ideology is the radical root of the Fascist movement upon which all of its ideas, ideals, and policies are built. Doctrines are created specifically for populations in regions who are faced with differing concerns and possessing various social traditions and customs. A doctrine is established to address and resolve issues particular to the conditions that a specific population is facing during certain periods. Doctrines change with time and circumstance, ideologies do not.
* The policies of Nazi Germany during the war years are an extreme example of a departure from the basic ideological philosophy of Fascism.

* It is not my purpose to do apologetics for National Socialist Germany, nor is it my place to give a negative criticism of it. It is my position now to discuss and to give pertinent examples of basic Fascist ideology and present various national doctrines as they apply to the issues facing the worlds' nations today.

* 'Fascism' is, both today and since the 1920's, the general term for the ideology, regardless of what nation it emerges within; it takes differing forms in national policy and doctrine based upon the culture in which it is developed and is influenced by conditions facing the indigenous populace.

* Not all fascisms can be accurately compared with the Fascism of Italy as the Fascism of Italy was Italian for the Italian people and culture, while fascisms in other countries are always tailored to meet the needs of their own specific people. All fascisms are different from each other even though they are founded upon the same ideology; the true Fascist ideology is a natural occurrence because it is a rational and logical reaction to natural and un natural situations which arise in the life of a people.

The Term 'Fascist'

The word 'fascism' is the generally accepted term for the phenomenon. It is true that the word originated in Italy and in France, however, it is, due to its etymological definition, the most appropriate label for the ideology.

Use of the label of 'Fascist' does not mean that those adherents to the movement are associated with Italy, Mussolini, of any of the other European movements or those movements in other countries. It is, as I have said, a general term for a wide spread ideology.

'Fascism' is not exported from one country to another. It

is, where ever it occurs, the product of an independent culture and nation, differentiated by various ethnic or racial traditions and customs and its development is influenced by the issues and conditions the particular population of that nation is faced with. It is a pragmatic ideology created independently by necessity.

The main hallmarks of basic Fascism:

State Social Corporatism

Support of and investment in social and cultural traditionalism

National Syndicalist

Nationalism

Anti-liberalism

Concentration on the betterment of all conditions of existence of the national population

Anti-Marxism

Against monopoly Capitalism

Against liberal Socialism

Conservative social values that are based on protection of the 'family' Politically non-Conservative and non-Liberal

Against materialism

Socially Spiritualistic

Extreme patriotism

National Autarchy

Anti-Plutocracy—anti-oligarchic

Creation of an insulated national economy

Against International Finance Capitalism

Import—export policies of domestic economic

protectionism

Considering these hallmarks of Fascism it is very clear that the Government of Chile under Augusto Pinochet, for example, was not a Fascist government, though it has been so labeled. When Pinochet assumed power in Chile he opened the country up to International Finance Capitalism, foreign monopoly Capitalism, the liberal-Capitalist practices of domestic concerns, social-political institutionalized 'conservatism'; he was not anti-Plutocratic and did not control oligarchies He did not firmly pursue policies of national autarchy and did not adequately insulate the Chilean economy against foreign trade infringement.

Augusto Pinochet was nationalist, patriotic, anti-Marxist, anti-social liberal, and authoritarian.

The regime of Pinochet was merely quasi-fascist in that it only put on the outer trappings of Fascism. It exhibited the outward symbolism of traditional Fascism without pursuing truly Fascist policies and avoided establishing a truly Fascist national doctrine. Fascism is something that is done, and not just talked about.

This does not mean that Augusto Pinochet was a 'bad' man or that he was not a great leader and a competent president of the country. It only means that he was not a Fascist. It is, however, obvious that he was an avid sympathizer of historic Fascism. It is also true that today a very large number of Chilean citizens are proud to have had him for their leader and to have had him there for so long; many wish his reign had lasted longer than it did.

Being an anti-Communist and wearing a uniform does not make one a Fascist. If that were true then the United States military would be Fascist and the North American law enforcement community would be Fascist as well as the Boy

Scouts and the Girl Scouts along with the

Cub Scouts and the Brownies. There are defining principles involved and an extensive ideology to consider. I strongly suggest that the interested reader obtain a copy of the book titled: "Behind Communism' by Frank L. Britton as well as the book titled: 'The Real War' by Richard M. Nixon. These are the two best treatises on the subject of Communism I have ever read; you will be impressed.

3

My express goal is to present the documents in as much of their original forms as possible. This means that I have had to, in order to maintain the integrity and originality of the messages, leave within them certain statements which I am in disagreement with.

For example, I found it necessary to leave some of the more repulsive sentences within the texts I have employed. The first instance is to be found in book one, ***'Fascism, The Total Society'***, in the chapter titled **'Our Political Outline'**—page 133—paragraph 2—where it advocates abortion and euthanasia. In all my years of studying Fascism I have never once, until now, come across a Fascist manifesto that is pro-death.

There is yet another UN-thinkable statement found within the pages of this current book in the last chapter which states that automobiles must be gradually banned for private personal use. Yes, we do need to convert our cars over to alcohol fuel and electrical power, but, the statement was just left hanging. I really like everything the author of that certain article has written, however, such statements require more explanation. Still, I am proud to include his text as the final closing chapter to this book.

There are things I do not agree with in other documents included in this series on Fascism. I intend to continue to

leave the texts as they are. The writers are Fascists and we all agree upon the very same ideology though we do differ somewhat in our doctrines.

4

The totalitarian policies of ideological National Corporative Syndicalism is not an authoritarian regime; nor does it operate itself on the basis of what is today known as ‘unilateralism’; which is only still another euphemistic label used by the enemies of the people and of our country, to mean direct government action against other countries As a factual matter, in the last 9 years the Federal government of the USA has not even pretended to care for what the American people want. They are treasonous criminals that need to be put on trial for

Treason, amongst other things of almost equally infamous import.

There is absolutely no consideration for the general populace between ‘election’ time; and even then they lie and are hand chosen by the Plutocratic oligarchy. The candidates are chosen for us. We have no say in it. Then, we get to choose between the lesser of the two evils who are presented to us, and the immense Treason continues in its progress and the D. C. Treason Regime continues to work its labors of national and societal destruction.

The majority of American citizens still believe in the myth of legitimate Congressional representation. They think that their vote counts. They believe that the party to which they sympathize with will work toward their desires and concerns; they are wrong. The politicians of today work only for their personal agendas which mostly comprise their own career advancement and, I will just say it, for their private financial gain. They are deviant and corrupt. They must be removed from government as soon as possible.

Citizens complain about everything. They blame the government for the condition this country is in now, yet they continue to vote the same people back into office. They see no way out of this nasty coercive cycle they are caught up in. But, there is an answer for their problems and that answer is Fascism.

The purpose of my series of books on Fascism is to show firstly, that Fascism is not Nazism and does not have to take up a racialist series of policies. Secondly, I intend to show them what the problems actually are, not what they've been misled into thinking, and who the culprits responsible for these travesties are. And, thirdly, to show the American people that there are solutions to the issues and the problems of today.

National Corporate Syndicalism (the term 'corporate' having nothing to do with advancement of the large industrial and financial corporations, but rather, with the Regime in Washington D. C.) is a

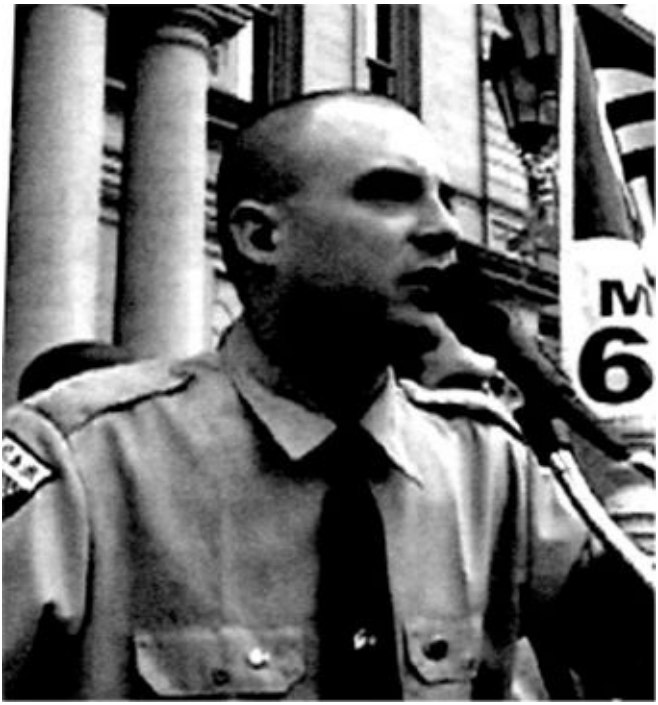
system of direct democracy where citizens govern themselves and actually tell the representatives what to do and are empowered with the ability to determine the national future. For example, the people will determine whether we go to war or not; policies of taxation; morality laws; regulation laws concerned with such essential commodities as the prices of heating fuels, gasoline prices, import policies curtailing bringing into our country cheap foreign products that are already manufactured here which results in the closing down of factories. As we used to say back in the 1970's "Power to the people—stick it to the Man!"

Thomas Jefferson wrote that "a little revolution once in a while is good for a democracy." I suggest that Americans read the little book titled 'Reviling of the Great' by Arnold Peterson. It can be purchased from the Socialist Labor Party

in Palo Alto, California. Though he was a Socialist, this one book of his really tells it like it is. While you're at it, order a copy of the book titled 'The Coming Insurrection' by The Invisible Committee; it will make you not only "think outside of the box", but, it will have you kick the box away and build yourself a better box, which is just what is needed.

5

I would like to take a little space at this time to make mention of the offshoot of Fascist doctrine in its extremest and most ethnically concerned form; that of American National Socialism. American National Socialism does not call itself Nazism as they tell me that "'Nazism' is German and we are Americans, therefor, they are called National Socialists". Take a look into the National Socialism of Chile or of France and you will see that, as with Fascism, National Socialism is different in doctrine from one population to another. Currently, in the United States, National socialism is led by the National Socialist Movement under the leadership of the very enthusiastic and and competent Commander Jeff Schoep of Detroit City (where I myself was born).



Commander Jeff Schoep

Commander Schoep with SS Body Guards

Through my own research I have found that the N.S.M. as well as the N.S.D.A.P/A.O., which is led by Gerhard Lauck in Lincoln, Nebraska, are the sanest and most objective of all of the National Socialist organizations. Commander Schoep is a fine example of leadership and order; his people have actually rescued Mexican illegals who were stranded in the desert by their importers and left to die a miserable death. They were given water and food immediately by Schoeps people and taken to the nearest help, which happened to have been an immigration station. This fact is quite different from what we have been taught to believe.

It is not my purpose to extol the any possible benefits or the negative effects of National Socialism in this book, it is only a mention of its presence as a benign force and that it is not a threat to public safety. A good example of this is the NSDAP/AO of Gerhard Lauck. This organization has been involved for decades in the translation of important National Socialist documents and books into the English language. This is kind of like what myself and others around the world are doing with Fascist books and important documents.

Fascism itself does not have the intense racialism that is usually found in National Socialism, however, National Socialism is a type of Fascist 'doctrine' which merits its mention in this study. There are some major differences between the German aberration and true Fascist ideology. But, the employment of Corporate Syndicalism as the domestic social and labor doctrine as well as establishing autarchy and national economic industrial protective insulation and insulation of the domestic finance economy are the things which the two doctrines do have in common.

Gerhard Lauck

Eoin O'Duffy saluted by Fascists

Sir Oswald Mosley saluted by Fascists

Crowds of English Fascists saluting

French Fascist Croix de Feu march honoring a fallen comrade

FASCISM

‘Fascist Doctrinal Ideology’
Codex Fascismo: Part Four

“To sum up,” **said Salazar,** ***“we seek to construct a social and corporative State corresponding exactly with the natural structure of society. The families, the parishes, the townships, the corporations, where all the citizens are to be found with their fundamental juridical liberties, are the organisms which make up the nation, and as such they ought to take a direct part in the constitution of the supreme bodies of the State. Here is an expression of the representative system that is more faithful than any other.”*** **Or, as he wrote on another occasion,** ***“In the domain of political institutions the corporative organization is fundamental . . . the more this organization is developed, the more will the State represent more faithfully than it does today the Nation itself, as an organic entity.”***

Oliveiro Salazar

“What does our Movement imply? Unity under control; or put otherwise: the co-operation between a people morally and economically bound together for their mutual advantage and government that possesses the will and the power to act for the common good. Strictly speaking, British Union, is akin to Fascism and National Socialism, but British and not Italian or German.”

Sir Oswald Mosley

MARCH TO SANITY

By **Oswald Mosley**

WHAT BRITISH UNION HAS TO OFFER BRITAIN

FROM WHAT HAS been written in our "free" Press about British Union, it is in no way strange that millions of people have been profoundly misled.

Amongst other things we of British Union have been called megalomaniacs, lunatics, bandits, gangsters and thugs. Further, we have been proclaimed to be dangerous revolutionaries whose one object is it to wreck the constitution, overthrow the social order and proclaim a despotism in which all freedom is to be suppressed. Nevertheless, it would be wise to remember that it is the fate of every new movement to be defamed, and the more violent the language the more does it show the virility of the object attack

ORGANISED COMMON SENSE

WHAT DOES OUR Movement imply? Unity under control; or put otherwise: the co-operation between a people morally and economically bound together for their mutual advantage and government that possesses the will and the power to act for the common good. Strictly speaking, British Union, is akin to Fascism and National Socialism, but British and not Italian or German. It is a phenomenon emerging out of Western Civilization, which we, above all other peoples, have helped to build, for we were the first great industrial nation, and this present age is literally the child of our steam and our coal. This universal Movement crept out of science and science was once defined by Thomas Henry Huxley as "organized common sense" What is common sense? Thought and action adapted to circumstances, which means thinking and acting in such a way that we get the best out of our surroundings. Now, before the outbreak of the First World War, science was fast becoming the universal creed, for it was changing every phase of life except politics. All ideas and things were being rationalized, that is, dealt with scientifically, except democratic government, which remained as it had been for three generations-a moderately workable instrument in a slow moving agricultural age, when one day was much like another.

Then came the War to show us that a talking machine was useless. In order to win the war four things were essential:

(1) authority in government;
(2) voluntary discipline of the people;
(3) self-sufficiency in resources, and

(4) scientific weapons in battle.

Out of this emerged a new cosmos-a turbulently divided world. On the one side were those nations which had suffered least, they went back to 1914; on the other those who had suffered most, and having lost all 1914 had ever stood for, they struggled forward. The first predominated, they were the victors. They formed themselves into the League of Nations, which is certainly not a British invention.

THE COMMON SENSE STATE

IN 1917 RUSSIA exploded into revolution and threw back to Marx and all that he had stood for, namely the struggle of the working classes with the early brutal system of financial industrialisation. Marxism stands for civil war, the extermination of the haves by the have-nots. It stands for what we see today in Spain-anarchy and despotism.

In 1922 the new idea, the revolt of the scientific spirit against the class struggle, took form in Italy, and Fascism emerged. That country was in a state of dissolution; corruption was rampant. Bolshevism was spreading and drastic action was demanded. Mussolini took it. He seized power and became Italy's Leader. he did not throw back, like Lenin, to the brutal struggling of the coal and steam age, but introduced science into politics, and began to develop the "common sense" State. What is such a State? It is a condition of living and not merely a form of government. The State is the life of the people taken as a whole. As the whole represents many people, therefore each life is as it were a living brick in a great human edifice.

Though it is a common sense fact that all individuals differ, it is also a common sense fact that we admire some and despise others. What type do we admire most? The man who is intellectually, morally and physically fit: a man with a commanding brain, a generous heart and a healthy body. British Union does not only recognize this in the individual, but says let us project this threefold order of perfection into the State. That is into the national life as a whole. In brief, this is the beginning and end of our philosophy.

THE PROBLEMS OF BRITAIN

I will now turn to this new way of life, and attempt to

show how we intend to apply the principle that for a nation to remain great in this present age it must life the life of its intellectually, morally and physically fittest sons and daughters, What are the conditions with face us?

(1) We are a constitutionally-minded people, we do not like upheavals and sudden changes; therefore British Union intends to work constitutionally and gain power by constitutional means.

(2) At heart we are an aristocratic people, a people who venerate monarchy and honest leadership; therefore British Union is not only loyal to the King, but it seeks to rid the country of the artificial restrictions of class which so often prevent honesty and ability from finding expression.

(3) We are a peace loving nation; therefore British Union is opposed to class war. But, intellectually, it is a profoundly revolutionary movement, because its object is to persuade the people to change ideas without smashing systems, things and themselves.

(4) We are a great trading nation and we know that trading and all it includes, such as markets, foreign loads and international finance generally, are the greatest causes of war. Therefore the British Union insists that these causes be removed and trading placed on an honorable and honest footing.

(5) We are a liberty-loving nation; but where is out freedom is we are forced into another war by the Empire of Money? Therefore British Union intends to subjugate this occult power. No longer will money be the master of the State, but instead its servant.

(6) We possess an Empire covering a quarter of the globe and peopled by a fifth of its' inhabitants. We are the sole potential league of free and peaceful nations in the world;

therefore British Union says: Let us develop our own League, and cease dabbling with its pseudo counterpart at Geneva. Here are six conditions in which we have to work, and they are British and not foreign. And whether in every particular you agree with me or not, matters not one whit; yet, taken as a whole, are they the objects of thugs and lunatics?

DISCIPLINE AND FAITH

TO OUR PRESENT Government apparently they are, for its Ministers are never tired of banding us together with the communists, whose declared policy is to destroy the monarchy, the empire and the state. Because we have demanded discipline of our followers we are classed as militarists and drilled gangsters; yet is not discipline the foundation of an orderly life? And because we fly the Union Jack and do not spit upon it, as do the communists, we are held up to derision.

What, then, is there against us? I will tell you: We have faith in what we believe and courage in its expression. We are the fearless, therefore we are feared. We do not seal our lips or speak with "appalling frankness" two years after we have betrayed our followers, and then play the part of a political Horatio Bottomley. In short we are feared, and, as fear is failure and the forerunner of failure, in spite of abuse, slander and misrepresentation, we shall succeed.

WHY MOSLEY STARTED

It may interest you if I now turn to the origins of the movement in this country. Having tried out Social Democracy in its two small forms of Conservatism and Labour, our Leader found that both were the instruments of Finance. With understanding and courage he turned to Fascism, that is, to common sense government, and, in 1932, established British Union in this country.

Through force of circumstances he was compelled to test out the Italian and German systems in order to discover how far their principles could be adapted to the British character. Every young political organization or movement, and more particularly so a political one, like a child, must copy, that is

test out. In part at least every man and woman has to copy in order to learn. Should you be devoid of genius, you will remain a copyist all your life, but should you possess genius, then what you evolve will be a work of art, that is something which appeals to the higher instincts of an individual or a nation.

When he opened his crusade, Mosley went straight to the roots of the present world disease, national and international. He showed that it was "Money Power" which gripped the whole economic life of Great Britain. He showed that the political system he had abandoned was the tool of the great financial interests; that the party machines were no more than money-driven engines and that our much vaunted "free" press was dominated by millionaire company promoters, who, themselves, were controlled by the great financial businesses.

BLUE LETHARGY OR RED VIOLENCE

Because he struck at the empire of money, its satraps, conservative, liberal, Labor and communist, shoulder to shoulder formed rank against him, which goes far to show their common origin and their common spirit. As was only natural, behind this united front there stood the. the originator of the usury system, which has as its object the economic enslavement not only of individuals, but of entire nations. Meetings were attacked, and in early days broken up, everywhere was to be found the international finance capitalist, as the police courts testify. And because steps have been taken to ensure free speech, which we boast of as our national birthright, legislation has been enforced to prevent it. Outwardly the excuse is to preserve law and order, inwardly the intention is to muzzle British Union. Though the black shirt has been prohibited, the red flag still flies.

It is utterly untrue that the British Union is largely a racialist movement*. How can it be? For as its followers are fervent believers in the Empire, and as the Empire contains scores of races, to be anti any one race is a contradiction in terms. If the Jews place Jewry first, we are against them; but if they place Britain first they have nothing to fear. And the same applies to all other races, cults and creeds. We will not tolerate an empire within our Empire, the empire of multinational finance within the British Empire, that is our challenge, not only to Jews, but to Christians.

From those who daily criticize the present Government, one might expect, if not welcome to British Union, at least an examination of its doctrines. Large numbers of these people are anti-Socialist and violently opposed to Communism; yet to the so-called National Government what alternative is there but that of a Socialist Government? If you will not tolerate blue lethargy, then you must accept "red" violence, and one day you will get it.

**Racialist here is taken to mean as that the view is valid that all races are different. God likes variety. And, He made the different races in different places and with different talents and abilities.—HRM*

A NEW MOVEMENT NEEDED

EVER SINCE THE War ended, what has a succession of Governments, Conservative, Labor, and National done? Each has worked on an identical policy, namely, "the postponing of difficulties" whether national, international or imperial. The old Asquithian principle of "Wait and See" has been their guiding star. Nevertheless, although the people through their individual energy have done something towards restoring prosperity, the grim fact remains that in the last general election nearly as many people abstained from voting as put the present government into power. Not only does this mean that the government does not represent the nation, but that it is living on a volcano, at present inactive. But will it remain so? Should it explode, then there is as yet no alternative to the "red flag". That means internal strife and inevitably foreign war in order to cancel it out.

What is the use of criticizing the present Government and then refusing to accept the sole existing alternative?Is not this like a physician haranguing a suffocating man? Has not the time come for drastic action, even if much of it must be experimental? But no, the great middle classes which should take the lead, prefer to drift on an ocean of muddled words. I can understand any man or woman accepting or rejecting a political doctrine after examining it, but to accept only what its opponents declare it to be, is peculiarly un-British.

Many people I have talked to imagine that they can clinch all arguments by saying "We will not tolerate dictatorship". Yet this is exactly what they are tolerating. The party organizers dictate to them, who in turn are dictated to by the grimmest of all dictators the "Money Power". "But we will not tolerate a single dictator" they say. Yet who has suggested that a single man should rule in defiance of the

will of the nation? Certainly not British Union. We offer leadership, not dictatorship, and a leadership which can be freely accepted or rejected by the vote of the whole people. What means do the people possess of winning freedom from the present dictatorship of vested interests other than giving a government, which they have elected, the power of effective action in their name and in discharge of their will? The degree of power which the people invest in Government will clearly depend on the degree of the disease with which the government has to deal. If the social body is so diseased that only drastic remedy can sure it, then power of action adequate to the situation must be given. As with the individual himself, but when diseased he comes under the dictatorship of the physician.

A STITCH IN TIME

Therefore the severity of the measures which the nation entrusts to Government must depend on the degree to which social disease has proceeded. In Germany and Italy the collapse of the body politic had gone far and only very drastic remedies could avail. but in the past it has been the genius of the British to take action in time and so mitigate the cure. It is to this historic genius of out people that we now appeal.

If our appeal to act in time is not in vain, the movement in Britain will assume a form different from any continental analogy and be peculiarly British is character. But whatever the future may hold, the principle of British Union is clear: we offer leadership, and leadership alone. The power our Government wields will be conferred by the free will of the people expressed by their vote, and will be subject to confirmation of removal by the free will of the people expressed in the same way.

Because so little is understood as to what British Union

means, I will now, as briefly as I can, explain it to you. Its fundamental principle is the threefold ordering of the state, that is, of the national life. In other words, as the individual life is by nature dependent upon the physical, mental and moral qualities in man, so is the life of a nation dependent upon them in the forms of economics, politics and culture.

FIRST THINGS FIRST

As, according to the Book of Genesis, God took the dust of the ground before He breathed into it the breath of life, so do we believe that the starting point in national reconstruction is to be found in the economic sphere. How can we have a mentally and morally healthy nation as long as millions of our employed people are standing on the brink of the precipice of starvation, and when they realise that another economic crisis will hurl thousands of them over it! Yet what can we do? Are we not doing all that in the circumstances is possible? Perhaps, but, as in fact it is so little, why not change the circumstances? What are they?

We know that our resources are almost unlimited, we know that our power to produce is almost unlimited, and also that our power to consume is almost unlimited. This is because there are few men and women in the land who would not consume more had they the money to pay for what they want. The economic problem, is, therefore fundamentally one of money; that is, of power to distribute things to the people who are in need of them.

First let me compare work to a railway. If a railway service can convey 100,000 people from A to B, and if 100,000 people wish to travel, should the number of tickets in the office be only 50,000. If so then 50,000 will be stranded. These today are represented by our unemployed. Worse still, should each ticket be valued at one shilling, then it is certain that some people, who have several shillings in

their pockets will buy up handfuls of tickets and auction them to the highest bidders, with the result that tickets will go up in price, and many people will be unable to pay for them.

ARTIFICIAL MONEY SCARCITY

THIS IS WHAT is happening in the financial world today. Tickets being represented by gold or the credit and paper money that is issued on gold. As gold is limited in quantity, not only is there an insufficiency of money to link production to consumption, but worse still, because, like a ticket, it is a concrete thing. When the great Financial Houses corner it, they turn it into a commodity which can be bought and sold. When gold is scarce, interest rises and when plentiful it falls; therefore it is to the advantage of those people who deal in money to distribute and so divorce consumption from production, and in consequence throw the whole economic life of a nation out of gear.

In tackling this problem, and it is the fundamental problem is our economic civilization, the first thing we must get out of our heads is, that gold is wealth. Gold is not wealth, life is wealth, or rather the source of all wealthy, for it is life which enables us to work. We, therefore, believe that the purpose of money is not to create wealth, but to distribute it. Consequently money must bear a direct relationship to production and consumption. We advocate, therefore, what is called a managed currency, that is a flexible instead of a rigid system of exchange, a system fitted to conditions, and, it is consequently, a common sense system. We do not believe in State Capitalism, for that is the apotheosis of the Money Power. Neither do we believe that a solution is to be found by taking from those who have and giving to those who have not, for the simple reason that such an exchange of money in no way increases the power to create wealth.

We do not mind, if those who honestly have gained what they have, gain more. As long as those who through no fault

of their own have not even sufficient to live on, and who, because of the existing tyranny of the "Money Power", are kept in a state of chronic economic servitude, receive their rightful due. We realize that is it useless suggesting equality of incomes, for the simply reason that there can never be equality of talents. Finally, we are heart and sound against the usury and gambling system of today, because money is not meant to make wealth, any more than pipes are meant to make water. We are also convinced that the usury system is ruining not only this country, but also Western Civilization. First it ruined our agriculture by making money out of our industries, now it is under mining our industries by loaning capital to foreign industries.

The whole system is one of inhuman greed. By pauperising our people it creates a spirit of class war at home, and by enslaving foreign nations it is the outstanding cause of foreign wars. As long as our civilization tolerates a financial system based on usury and gambling, so long will civil wars and foreign wars remain inevitable.

SANITY INSTEAD OF USURY

With a sane common sense system of distribution, founded on work as wealth and not upon gold as wealth, we can in time eradicate poverty. We can place every honest and energetic worker is a position to free him from economic slavery and so enable him to regain the dignity of his manhood. With such a system we can re-establish agriculture in this country without which there can be no economic security in peace or war. Almost daily we are told that we are a declining race: that our population is falling and that a hundred years hence our Empire, if it exists, will be no more than a human vacuum. We are told that the age of families of even two or three children is doomed, but we are never told why. Why do our women refuse to have

children? Not because they are sterile or debauched, but because their husbands are rendered economically impotent by the monetary system. It is poverty, lack of power to distribute, and not selfishness, which is sterilizing the nation. Fear to bring children into a starving world. Yet, we live in a world which possesses such potential plenty that the like of it has never been seen in the whole course of history. It is this dictatorship, this tyranny, this despotism of the "Money Power" that we are out to destroy; hence the violence of the attacks against us. And until it is destroyed the people of this land of potential plenty will remain economic slaves shackled by poverty to its golden throne.

THE RIGHT TO WORK

AS ECONOMICS, OR more simply put, work, is the fundamental problem of the moment, it logically follows that our political organization must be such that is will give the fullest expression to the economic life of the nation. Therefore, let us first ask ourselves upon what method is our parliamentary system founded. It is founded upon geographical representation, which, when agriculture was the sole great industry of the land, was a fairly common sense system. But today this condition no longer holds good. Frequently, not only do Members of Parliament not represent their geographical areas, for they are brought in from outside, not by the people of these areas, but by their respective political party organizers, and they seldom represent any vital economic interest.

We believe that this system is utterly worn out, and in its place we propose what is called the Corporate State. What is this? As work is wealth, or at least should be, in accordance with our system, the entire nation will be organized according to vocations. Trades, professions, and interests, including such an unrecognized occupation as motherhood, for we believe that bringing healthy children into this world is the most important "industry" of all, must be represented. We see in the trade unions and in some of the great industrial combines the beginnings of this system. We also see that, under existing circumstances, the first are compelled to place politics, that is the gaining of power, before economics-the increasing of wealth, and that the second are compelled to place profit before the welfare of the nation. Under the Corporate System each occupation will be organized into a guild or corporation of producers, distributors and consumers, according to its size and

importance. Its members will elect one or more Members of Parliament to represent its interests. Hence the government of the people will be truly representatives of the people and for the people. It will be placed in the hands of men and women who know what they are talking about and will consequently do far less talking. Power will not be in the hands of professional windbags and non-descripts that conspiracy of mediocrity, which now misrules us.

In the first parliament in which British Union has a majority the Government will be formed as at present. Its Leader, by virtue of representing the strongest Party. will be invited by His Majesty the King to form a Government, and to him he will submit his selected ministers for approval. This Parliament will reserve the right at any time to dismiss the government by a vote of censure. When the second Parliament of the British Union is formed, elected not on a geographical but on an occupational franchise as I have described. The power to dismiss the Government will rest only with the whole people voting at intervals no longer than the life of a present Parliament on a universal franchise. In the event of a Government then being dismissed by the people, His Majesty will send for fresh Ministers who, in his opinion, will secure the confidence of the country by means of a fresh vote.

What we see here is this: the will of the nation dictating through a new instrument of government brought into being by their collective vote, and, freed from the present dictatorship of vested interests, furnished with the power to act, yet dependent for its life upon their will. This is not the despotism of one man or the tyranny of a political oligarchy, or the dictatorship of the proletariat. Further, the contentions of the "Party system" will be removed, the will of the people will not be obliterated by party propaganda; consequently the government's power to act, that is to get

on with the national business, will not be paralyzed by the hysteria of artificially generated mass emotionalism. Because we are so soused in party politics, I realize that it is difficult for many of us to grasp how such a system can work. This I will now attempt to explain.

HOW THE OLD GANG WORKS

FIRST, TAKE THE existing system. Its party organizers who form a caucus control each party. They are political company promoters. They controlling the party funds and their one aim is not to further the national interests, but to return their party to power. Once in power the party's object is to retain its position by every means. The object of the party out of power, "The Opposition", simply functions to discredit the government so that is may take its place.

Parliament is, therefore, in no sense the center of national business; instead, it is nothing else than a battleground of party prejudices. When a general election takes place, what so the party organizers do? Do they ask the electors whom they would like as their members? No, because, as there is no common interest in any constituency. The electors do not and cannot know who will best represent their interests. Instead, each caucus selects a member who is lively to prove subservient to it, and, then, by arousing violent emotionalism, persuades the people to elect him or her. These members represent no national interests, only political prejudices, and when returned, vote solely to keep their party in power, or if in opposition to get the party in power, out.

Whatever value such a system had during the past age is doubtful but what today cannot be doubted, is that it is criminally inefficient. But in this is a scientific age the result is muddle and confusion and nothing is done until a national crisis arises.

THE CORPORATE STATE

NOW TURN TO the Corporate State system. The entire country will be organized as a national business, each Corporation representing a department. The object of each is to further its own interests. The object of the Government is to see that these separate interests int eh aggregate further the national interest. Each Corporation will elect its own Member of Parliament, and, a there will be a common interest in each, he is likely to be an outstanding man whose qualifications are known to the whole electorate.

As there will be no parties to serve and fight for, talking will be reduced to a minimum. The majority of MP's instead of obstructing Parliament, will be carrying out executive work in their Corporations. When Parliament at regular intervals meets to review the work of the Government its members will be armed with practical suggestions based on a first hand knowledge of local problems. They will be leaders of national interests and not followers of party prejudices.

Granted that every system of government must of necessity be a difficult undertaking. In this imperfect world nothing devised by man can be perfect, but it seems to me nevertheless that this system of government which I have explained to you, like the life of man himself, does permit reasonable changes keeping pace with economic requirements. Therefore it is a living system and not a rigid one. How then can it be said that it must result in a suppression of democracy? Instead, surely it frees the nation from the dictatorship of party politics, from the emotionalism they engender, and from the tyranny of those financial interests which control all parties, and sets them at loggerheads so that financiers may be free to do as they like.

The End of the Journey

Given a common sense economic system and a political system that truly represents the power and wealth of the nation, we are still no more than two-thirds along the road towards our goal. Economics and politics are but the means whereby our new way of life can be established. Prosperity without contentedness is a blind alley, and, as all men are different, and and creative power depends upon the self-expression of a people, the key to the "new way" is freedom in the cultural lives of one and all.

Let me explain this. We do not believe that the people are today morally or intellectually free, because they are economically shackled. Further, we no not believe that until economic freedom is gained (and how can it be gained unless politics are closely related to economics?) that people can become free.

Not free to do exactly what they like during their working hours, but to be so well remunerated for their work that they are free to enjoy the fruits of their labors. The end aim of work is not power or profit, it is leisure; therefore the development of leisure as a creative joy-bringing force is the ultimate goal in our philosophy. Today leisure largely represents either rest or license; rest to those who are too poor in money to gain what true leisure brings, and license to those who are too rich in idleness to understand the necessity of work. As work should liberate man from bodily poverty, so should leisure liberate him from poverty of the soul. Therefore in the Corporate State, though work is planned, the cultural life of the people will be their own. The more work is planned, the more are time and human energy economized; consequently the fewer will become the hours of work, and, therefore, the more numerous with the hours of leisure. As the leisure life extends, a new cultural period

will open to us, when the masses will become more interested in life and where there is something more than the struggle for existence to preoccupy them.

THE ONLY WAY

IN ORDER TO guide the people towards this ultimate goal, British Union proposes to replace the House of Lords by a Chamber which will inquire into the cultural needs of the nation. Thee fall under three main headings: recreational, artistic and spiritual. The first embracing physical culture, the second intellectual Culture and the third, religious and moral culture. Through this guidance we believe that the people will become fit in body, mind and soul.

In each of thee three divisions of cultural life it is self-expression which we encourage; for as a man fit in body, mind and soul is the aim of all perfection, so is an individual nation fit economically, politically and morally the aim of all social perfection.

This, then, is what British Union stands for. It offers the people of this country something which historically is more closely related to us and to any other nation. In past ages our government was of a threefold order, a government by Lords Spiritual, Lords Temporal and Commons, that is by those who represented the cultural, economic and political interests and needs of the people. Its foundations are, therefore, old, and upon them will the new order be built.

For a little over five years now British Union has struggled valiantly towards this goal. Like all new movements, not excepting Christianity, by force of circumstances it was compelled to begin at the bottom. For society and new States like new houses, can be built only from the bottom upwards. It was forced to set to work where poverty and discontent prevailed, where the disease was rampant; hence the roughness of its voyage. Among the first down-and-outs words are frequently accentuated by

fists; hence also the excuses to decry it.

Our deadliest enemy is, however, not communism, which stands for class war, but the lethargy of the great middle classes. Remember this: these classes are floating on this underworld, which is nothing other than human dynamite. Should it explode (and it is the aim of the Socialists that it shall) the cataclysm will be more devastating than any foreign war. What then is the alternative? It is to transform this underworld by removing that poverty and desperation which automatically breeds communism. That desire of the morally, intellectually and economically starved to pillage to camps of the lethargically contented.

The Corporate System, we maintain, can solve this problem, not because it belongs to any single nation, but because it is of the spirit of this age. It is common sense action adapted to circumstances. Its aim is the triumph of mind over brute force, of morality over corruption and of physical fitness over degeneration. It is the new way and the new life, and, if you can find a better way, then name it.'

* * *

That which follows is a document drafted by Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera.

THE TWENTY-SIX POINT PROGRAM OF THE FALANGE

By ***Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera***

NATION—UNITY—EMPIRE

1. **‘W**e believe in the supreme reality of Spain. The strengthening, elevating, and magnifying of this reality is the urgent collective goal of all Spaniards. Individual, group, and class interests must inexorably give way in order to achieve this goal.

2. Spain has a single destiny in the world. Every conspiracy against this common unity is repulsive. Any kind of separatism is a crime which we shall not pardon. The existing Constitution, to the degree that it encourages disintegration, weakens this common destiny of Spain. Therefore we demand its annulment in a thundering voice.

3. We have the determination to build an Empire. We affirm that Spain’s historic fulfillment lies in Empire. We claim for Spain a preeminent position in Europe. We can tolerate neither international isolation nor foreign interference. As regards the countries of Hispanic America, we favor unification of their culture, economic interests and power. Spain will continue to act as the spiritual axis of the Hispanic world as a sign of her preeminence in worldwide enterprises.

4. Our armed forces—on land, sea, and in the air—must be kept trained and sufficiently large to assure to Spain at all times its complete independence and a status in the world that befits it. We shall bestow upon our Armed Forces of land, sea, and air all the dignity they merit, and we shall cause their military conception of life to infuse every aspect of Spanish life.

5. Spain shall once more seek her glory and her wealth on the sea lanes. Spain must aspire to become a great maritime power, for reasons of both defense and commerce. We demand for the fatherland equal status with others in maritime power and aerial routes.

STATE—INDIVIDUAL—LIBERTY

6. Our State will be a totalitarian instrument to defend the integrity of the fatherland. All Spaniards will participate in this through their various family, municipal, and syndical roles. There shall be no participation in it by political parties. We shall implacably abolish the system of political parties and all of their consequences—inorganic suffrage, representation of clashing groups, and a Parliament of the type that is all too well known.

7. Human dignity, integrity, and freedom are eternal, intangible values. But one is not really free unless he is a part of a strong and free nation. No one will be permitted to use his freedom against the nation, which is the bulwark of the fatherland's freedom. Rigorous discipline will prevent any attempt to envenom and disunite the Spanish people or to incite them against the destiny of the fatherland.

8. The National-Syndicalist State will permit all kinds of private initiative that are compatible with the collective interest, and it will also protect and encourage the profitable ones.

ECONOMY—LABOUR—CLASS STRUGGLE

9. Our conception of Spain in the economic realm is that of a gigantic syndicate of producers. We shall organize Spanish society corporatively through a system of vertical syndicates for the various field of production, all working toward national economic unity.

10. We repudiate the capitalistic system which shows no understanding of the needs of the people, dehumanizes private property, and causes workers to be lumped together in a shapeless, miserable mass of people who are filled with desperation. Our spiritual and national conception of life also repudiates Marxism. We shall redirect the impetuousness of those working classes who today are led astray by Marxism, and we shall seek to bring them into direct participation in fulfilling the great task of the national state.

11. The National-Syndicalist State will not cruelly stand apart from man's economic struggles, nor watch impassively while the strongest class dominates the weakest. Our regime will eliminate the very roots of class struggle, because all who work together in production shall comprise one single organic entity. We reject and we shall prevent at all costs selfish interests from abusing others, and we shall halt anarchy in the field of labor relations.

12. The first duty of wealth—and our State shall so affirm—is to better the conditions of the people. It is intolerable that enormous masses of people should live wretchedly while a small number enjoy all kinds of luxuries.

13. The State will recognize private property as a legitimate means for achieving individual, family, and social goals, and will protect it against the abuses of large-scale finance capital, speculators, and money lenders.

14. We shall support the trend toward nationalization of banking services and, through a system of Corporations, the great public utilities.

15. All Spaniards have the right to work. Public agencies must of necessity provide support for those who find themselves in desperate straits. As we proceed toward a totally new structure, we shall maintain and strengthen all the advantages that existing social legislation gives to

workers.

16. Unless they are disabled, all Spaniards have the duty to work. The National-Syndicalist State will not give the slightest consideration to those who fail to perform some useful function and who try to live as drones at the expense of the labor of the majority of people.

LAND

17. We must, at all costs, raise the standard of living in the countryside, which is Spain's permanent source of food. To this end, we demand agreement that will bring to culmination without further delay the economic and social reforms of the agricultural sector.

18. Our program of economic reforms will enrich agricultural production by means of the following:

By assuring a minimum remuneration to all agricultural producers.

By demanding that there be restored to the countryside, in order to provide it with an adequate endowment, a portion of that which the rural population is paying to the cities for intellectual and commercial services.

By organizing a truly national system of agricultural credit which will lend money to farmers at low interest against the guarantee of their property and crops, and redeem them from usury and local tyrants.

By spreading education with respect to better methods of farming and sheep raising.

By ordering the rational utilization of lands in accordance with their suitability and with marketing

possibilities.

By adjusting tariff policy in such a way as to protect agriculture and the livestock industry.

By accelerating reclamation projects. By rationalising the units of cultivation, so as to eliminate wasted latifundia and uneconomic, miniscule plots.

19. Our program of social reforms in the field of agriculture will be achieved:

By redistributing arable land in such a way as to revive family farms and give energetic encouragement to the syndicalisation of farm labourers.

By redeeming from misery those masses of people who presently are barely eking out a living on sterile land, and by transferring such people to new and arable lands.

20. We shall undertake a relentless campaign of reforestation and livestock breeding, and we shall punish severely those who resist it. We shall support the compulsory, temporary mobilisation of all Spanish youth for this historic goal of rebuilding the national commonwealth.

21. The State may expropriate without indemnity lands of those owners who either acquired them or exploited them illegally.

22. It will be the primary goal of the National-Syndicalist State to rebuild the communal patrimonies of the towns.

NATIONAL EDUCATION—RELIGION

23. It shall be the essential mission of the State to attain

by means of rigorous disciplining of education a strong, united national spirit, and to instil in the souls of future generations a sense of rejoicing and pride in the fatherland.

All men shall receive premilitary training to prepare them for the honour of being enlisted in the National and Popular Army of Spain.

24. Cultural life shall be organized so that no talent will be undeveloped because of insufficient economic means. All who merit it shall be assured ready access to a higher education.

25. Our Movement incorporates the Catholic meaning—of glorious tradition, and especially in Spain—of national reconstruction. The Church and the State will co-ordinate their respective powers so as to permit no interference or activity that may impair the dignity of the State or national integrity.

NATIONAL REVOLUTION

26. The Falange Espanola Tradicionalista y de las JONS demands a new order, as set forth in the foregoing principles. In the face of the resistance from the present order, it calls for a revolution to implant this new order. Its method of procedure will be direct, bold, and combative. Life signifies the art and science of warfare (milicia) and must be lived with a spirit that is purified by service and sacrifice.'

WHAT THE FALANGE WANTS

by José Antonio Primo de Rivera

Madrid speech October 29, 1933, José Antonio Primo de Rivera. 'Varieties of Fascism' Eugen Weber, Stanley G. Payne 'Falange' (Stanford: 1961)

'FINALLY, THE LIBERAL state came to offer us economic slavery, saying to the workers, with tragic sarcasm: "You are free to work as you wish; no one can compel you to accept specified conditions. Since we are the rich, we offer you the conditions that please us; as free citizens, you are not obliged to accept them if you do not want to; but as poor citizens, if you do not accept them you will die of hunger, surrounded of course by the utmost liberal dignity." . . .

Therefore socialism had to appear, and its coming was just (for we do not deny any evident truth). The workers had to defend themselves against a system that only promised them right and did not strive to give them a just life. However, socialism, which was a legitimate reaction against liberal slavery, went astray because it resulted, first, in the materialist interpretation of life and history; second, in a sense of reprisal; and third, in the proclamation of the dogma of class struggle...

The Patria is a total unity, in which all individuals and classes are integrated; the Patria cannot be in the hands of the strongest class or of the best organized party. The Patria is a transcendent synthesis, an indivisible synthesis, with its own goals to fulfill; and we want this movement of today,

and the state which it creates, to be an efficient, authoritarian instrument at the service of an indisputable unity, of that permanent unity, of that irrevocable unity that is the Patria.

And we already have the principle for our future acts and our present conduct, for we would be just another party if we came to announce a program of concrete solutions. Such programs have the advantage of never being fulfilled.

Here is what is required by our total sense of the Patra and the state which is to serve it: That all the people of Spain, however diverse they may be, feel in harmony with an irrevocable unity of destiny. That the political parties disappear. No one was ever born a member of a political party; on the other hand, we are all born members of a family; we are all neighbors in a municipality; we all labor in the exercise of a profession… We want less liberal word-mongering and more respect for the deeper liberty of man. For one respects the liberty of man when he is esteemed, as we esteem him, the bearer of eternal values; when he is esteemed as the corporal substance of a soul capable of being damned and of being saved. Only when man is considered thus can it truly be said that his liberty is respected, and more especially if that liberty is joined, as we aspire to join it, to a system of authority, of hierarchy, and of order… . Finally, we desire that if on some occasion this must be achieved by violence, there be no shrinking from violence. Because who has said—while speaking of "everything save violence"—that the supreme value in the hierarchy of values is amiability? Who has said that when our sentiments are insulted we are obliged to be accommodating instead of reacting like men? It is very correct indeed that dialectic is the first instrument of communication. But no other dialectic is admissible save the dialectic of fists and pistols when justice or the Patria is

offended. . . .

But our movement would not be understood at all if it were believed to be only a manner of thinking. It is not a manner of thinking; it is a manner of being. We ought not merely to propose to ourselves a formal construction, a political architecture. Before life in its entirety, in each one of our acts, we must adopt a complete, profound, and human attitude. This attitude is the spirit of sacrifice and service, the ascetic and military sense of life. Henceforth let no one think that we recruit men in order to offer rewards; let no one imagine that we join together in the defense of privileges. I should like to have this microphone before me carry my voice into every last working-class home to say: Yes, we wear a tie; yes, you may say of us that we are senoritos. But we urge a spirit of struggle for things that cannot concern us as senoritos; we come to fight so that hard and just sacrifices may be imposed on many of our own class, and we come to struggle for a totalitarian state that can reach the humble as well as the powerful with its benefits. We are thus, for so always in our history have been the senoritos of Spain. In this manner they have achieved the true status of senores, because in distant lands, and in our very Patria, they have learned to suffer death and to carry out hard missions precisely for reasons in which, as senoritos, they had no interest at all.

I believe the banner is raised. Now we are going to defend it gaily, poetically. There are some who think that in order to unite men's wills against the march of the revolution it is proper to offer superficially gratifying solutions; they think it is necessary to hide everything in their propaganda which could awaken an emotion or signify energetic or extreme action. What equivocation! The peoples have never been moved by anyone save the poets, and woe to him who, before the poetry which destroys, does not know how to

raise the poetry which promises!

In a poetic movement we shall raise this fervent feeling for Spain; we shall sacrifice ourselves; we shall renounce ourselves, and the triumph will be ours, a triumph—why need I say it?—that we are not going to win in the next elections. In those elections vote for whoever seems to you least undesirable. But our Spain will not emerge from [the Cortes], nor is our goal there. The atmosphere there is tired and murky, like a tavern at the end of a night of dissipation. That is not our place. Yes, I know that I am a candidate; but I am one without faith and without respect. I say this now, when it can mean that I lose votes. That matters not at all. We are not going to argue with habitués over the disordered remains of a dirty banquet. Our place is outside, though we may occasionally have to pass a few transient minutes within. Our place is in the fresh air, under the cloudless heavens, weapons in our hands, with the stars above us. Let the others go on with their merrymaking. We outside, in tense, fervent, and certain vigilance, already feel the dawn breaking in the joy of our hearts.'

BREAD AND JUSTICE

By ***Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera***

'WELL THEN: IF communism puts an end to many good things, such as family attachments and national sentiment; if it provides neither bread nor freedom and makes us subservient to a foreign country, what is to be done? We are not going to resign ourselves to the continuation *of* the capitalist regime. One thing today is painfully obvious: the crisis of the capitalist system and its devastating consequences which communism is doing nothing to attenuate. What is to be done, then? Are we in a cul-de-sac? Is there no way of placating the hunger of the masses for bread and justice? Do we have to choose between the desperation of the bourgeois regime and the slavery of Russia?

No. The National Syndicalist Movement is convinced that it has found the right way out: neither capitalist nor communist. Faced by the individualist economy of the bourgeoisie, the socialist one arose, which handed over the fruits of production to the State, enslaving the individual. Neither of them have resolved the tragedy of the producer. To address this issue let us erect the synicalist economy, which neither absorbs the individual personality into the State, nor turns the worker into a dehumanized cog in the machinery of bourgeois production. The national syndicalist solution is the one which promises to bear the most fruit. It will do away once and for all with political go betweens and parasites. It will free production from the financial burdens with which finance capital overwhelms it. It will overcome the anarchy it causes by putting order into it. It will prevent

speculation with commodities, guaranteeing a profitable price. And, above all, it will pass on the surplus value not to the capitalist, not to the State, but to the producer as a member of his trade union. And this economic system will make a thing of the past the depressing spectacle of unemployment, slum housing, and misery.

Workers! Comrades! Decisive moments are approaching. No one can stand back with his arms folded. The fate of everyone is in the balance. Either the workers, forcefully, implacably, will put an end to the capital and join the National Syndicalist Movement to impose a regime of national solidarity, or internationalism will turn us into stooges of some foreign great power.

The National Syndicalist Movement, conscious that it has strength and reason on its side, will keep up the assault on all its enemies: the right, the left, communism, capitalism. For Fatherland, Bread, and Justice. We are sure to win. It is essential in interest of both the producers and the nation. We will impose a new order of things, without people starving, without professional politicians, without bosses, without usurers, without speculators.

Neither right, nor left! Neither communism nor capitalism! A national regime. The National Syndicalist regime!

Long live Spain!'

THE FALANGIST OATH

I swear to give myself always to the service of Spain.

I swear to have no pride other than that of the fatherland and of the Falange and to live under the Falange in obedience and joy, impetuousness and patience, gallantry and silence.

I swear fidelity and submission to our leaders, honour to the memory of our dead, and imperturbable perseverance amid all vicissitudes.

I swear, wherever I may be, in order to obey or in order to command that I shall respect our Hierarchy from the first to the last rank.

I swear to reject and give no ear to any voice of either friend or foe who might weaken the spirit of the Falange.

I swear to preserve above all the idea of unity: unity among the lands of Spain, unity among the classes of Spain, unity within the individual man and among the men of Spain.

I swear to live in holy brotherhood with all members of the Falange and to lend every assistance and eliminate every difference whenever this holy brotherhood requests that I do so.

MANIFESTO OF THE NATIONAL SYNDICALIST MOVEMENT OF CHILE

Translated from the original Spanish by **H. R. Morgan**

National Revolutionary Movement of Chile

WE THE MEMBERS of the Chilean resistance movement have thought it necessary to make public a propositional text of the National Board of Trade Controls of the National Unionist Revolutionary Movement created in this year of 1969.

Within it is the spinal cord of a doctrine that, on the basis of the corporate school of thought tends toward the decentralization of the State, of basic communities that have been created through birth unto maturity. We have stated through these pages that our school of thought is unrelated to the doctrines of the liberals which are fed to various Chileans and as likewise, to the Socialist school of thought throughout political parties which are already affiliated with Marxism.

We have made public these proposals due to the repeated questions that have been submitted to our address, concerning political and doctrinal documents of the Chilean National Syndicalism. However, we must add, that the writings and statements which follow are, along with some other publications and texts, are documentation of the ideology which we hold.

1 Man is a being with transcendent values. The significance of which is that they emanate the hierarchy and the rights and duties of men and of communities.

2 Their importance is expressed in history through the manifestations of culture.

3 Hierarchy is a principle which, when operating upon solid values, allows for the integration, management, and dynamization of the historical process of a village (*city, and nation*).

4 History is the realm of realization of peoples and of generations.

5 A 'generation' is a group both joined and intertwined by the spirit and time of men who are the interpreters for that (*particular*) time. Generation provides a thought or a new tinge to the thinking of the community.

6 Culture is the expression of the authenticity of a village in confrontation with itself, society, history, and the universe. The Culture manifests itself primarily in the ethical, religious, and the philosophical, the scientific, and the artistic.

7 The significance of Culture is that it gives mankind a sphere of life and permeates all aspects of systems of coexistence that are developed.

8 We understand the State as the institutionalization of living systems and the theory of the State as concrete proposals of political coexistence.

9 Systems of coexistence and the State, to be justified, should facilitate the process of building the Culture, recognize the (*natural human*) hierarchy, and allow and nurture the realization of man.

10 Being (*that there is such a thing as*) the historic man where there is the possibility of an entire system of coexistence; if the State does not comply with these fundamental tasks, then at such a moment the system loses its legitimacy, and such lack of legitimacy gives the right of rebellion to the people.

11 The process of creating a new culture that is the basis and foundation of a new system of coexistence and the State calls for revolution.

12 The authentic revolutionary process of the town begins with the revolution of man, which requires an encounter of man with values that are his own.

13 The 'New Man' should be essentially an ethical creator, and therefor, revolutionary. The rule of life of the 'New Man' is not an ideology but a lifestyle. In Style it is a way of realization toward that which is transcendent.

14 The current State that governs us has become unjust insofar as it has not allowed for the realization of man, it has distorted the authority and hierarchy, and it has failed to enable a culture.

15 The mismatch is of such a nature that there is not even a correlation between the prevailing life system and the State, which has therefor been reduced to a mere legal formula: liberal democracy.

16 The Reform Party (*parties of reformation*), and not the revolutionaries, are those who seek to convince us of the 'legitimacy' of the present and prevailing system of coexistence which is riddled with corruption. (*Note: Reformism seeks only to alter the shape and appearance of a system that does not work; Ziotio Garibaldi said "You can change the shape of a piece of clay to look like a steel knife, but if you try to use it, it will not work because, in the end, it is still only a piece of clay.")*

17 There are those who believe in the revolution who question and meditate on the metaphysical who are religious. There are those who believe in this, yet they still question the revolution. The first thing is arbitrary and pragmatic; the second is immoral. We believe in the creation of a new culture, a new hierarchy, and the realization of

man. It emanates forth from our revolutionary self.

18 To be a revolutionary demands, as well as a concrete proposal of coexistence, a doctrine, a moral outlook, and a revolutionary action.

19 Our concrete proposal for coexistence for this time emanates from the doctrine of the communities. This form of cohabitation is institutionalized in what we call The State of National Community. The doctrine is National Syndicalism. Morality is the style. Revolutionary action that is organized politically through the National Revolutionary Syndicalist Movement (M.R.N.S.)

20 Mankind, from his essence, has organically participated in the definition and creation of coexistence. The community is created through the process of living.

21 The process of living determines functions in the community. These functions should allow the individual and the social accomplishments of men.

22 The expression of the activities of man that are generated organisms:

a The social function generates the family and the social community

b The economic function generates the Trade Union and the economic community

c The Cultural function generates the University and the collegiate University community

d The religious function generates the Church and the religious community

e The defense function generates the military armed forces and the Navy

f The policy function generates the State

23 Family is the basic community organization that

guarantees the permanence and normal development of man. The family is organized through the 'Municipality' and the Region. Municipality is the territory on which families are organized. 'Region', is the grouping of municipalities by production areas, in line with national development planning. The family organized by the municipality and the region is the 'Social Community'.

24 A Social Community is, in all reality, the greater enlargement of the family legalized nationally. It ensures the brotherhood and tradition of all of the people in history and time. The social community is represented in the National Community by the 'Social Chamber' which is the established 'body' that proposes, reports, and legislates on the social aspects of national coexistence.

25 The Union is the basic economic organization for providing men with their tasks and providing the tools of the trades. They are also organs of direction, cooperative centers and a means of human and cultural coexistence. Trade unions that are grouped into associations, federations and cooperatives of production and consumption, by their production areas, form the economic community.

26 An economic community is legally organized for the national workers. The worker is represented in the national community by the 'Chamber of Labor', which proposes, reports, and legislates on labor and on national economics.

27 The Social Community and the Economic Community, while maintaining their autonomy, merge to form the State of National Community.

28 The University is a community of study and creation formed by teachers and students who's function is to maintain, disseminate, and increase the cultural values of a people through teaching, research, and extension. Against a State that is devoid of legitimacy, as a socially guiding institution, it becomes the role and the legitimate task, for

the University, who's position it is to guide and enlighten the State, to assume its role in the revolutionary process. To fully carry out these tasks the University must be both national and autonomous.

29 The State of National Community recognizes the University community "par excellence" and its capacity as depository of the national knowledge (*collective knowledge of the nation*). In this regard it will ensure the exercise of the functions that are its own, (*within the academic realm*) thus, ensuring its own autonomy.

30 The Church is a community of faith. It provides to those who profess their creed, tasks which are moral and, upon their fulfillment, gives them the hope for a supernatural life. It is the spiritual organization "par excellence".

31 The State of National Community will guarantee to the Church that socially, the enactment of its leadership position in moral and religious freedom (*shall not be infringed upon*).

32 The Armed Forces is the organization that meets functionally (funcionalmente) all requirements for the defense of the homeland. It is a guarantee of safety, permanence, and continued realization of the nation.

33 The State of National Community recognizes the Navy community in its character as depository of the traditions and through the building up of the national will(The State) will ensure the fulfillment of their duties, providing it with what science and technology offers to give modernity and efficiency.

34 The State of National Community is the institutionalization of living together in communities. National community is the Organization of human tasks according to national tasks.

35 The State of National Community is the custodian of law, the political guide of the nation, the promoter of cultural, social, and development within a totality, and is the executor of the historical destinies of the national community.

36 Policy is the art and science of the organizational.

37 The nation has been forged in the history of the community. It is 'destiny', in the universal community. Its idea is embodied in everything that the homeland is made up of; men, geography, and culture. Homeland and Nation unite us irrevocably; we possess homeland and a nation only if we are owners of our geography.

38 The State must make the nation able to perform internationally. We cannot remain a people without external tasks. Such a nation lacks expression and personality. Only a mission gives a nation real sovereignty.

39 The mission of the national community is the unity of the peoples of Ibero-America; the creation of an Ibero-American community of nations that is able to impose a new style in international coexistence through having built a 'New Order' and thereby possessing a new culture.

40 (*This 'New Order' is to be based on*) a doctrine of communities linked to the concept of autonomous nationhood which we call National Syndicalism.

41 National Syndicalism is a dynamizing influential factor in the historical, cultural, generational life of peoples.

42 National Syndicalism says that family, the trade union, and the region are organisms, and that there may be different structures depending on the pace of the times and of the new generations, since it rejects institutional dogmatism, but, insists on essentially named organisms which are those that serve more adequately to carry our social, economic, and political coexistence.

43 National Syndicalism believes in a new concept of property: family owned and community ownership, as an expression of the possession of the means of production and property in the hands of intermediate bodies, between the man and the State. (*Note: 'directly'—this is in reference to the direct democratic social and community peoples syndicates*)

44 The political and revolutionary task of National Syndicalism is the establishment of the State of National Community. This is defined as being opposed to the prevailing liberal-democratic ("demoliberal") as well as the alternative Marxist regime. National Syndicalism is extra-parliamentary and is anti-partisan (antipartidista).

45 The power in and of the revolution is the task of the national trade union movement. To conquer the current powers, the people are guided now by the movement. The national community of Chileans will consummate the revolution. Avante! The Chilean Revolution!—We rescue the homeland from imperialism! May we of Chile become the bow (*and arrows*) of America!

These proposals were published in the magazine ***'Wrought Iron'—1969***

MANIFESTO OF THE FALANGIST PATRIOTIC MOVEMENT OF URUGUAY

Presentacion del Movimiento Patriotico Falangista del Uruguay

Translated from the original Spanish by **H. R. Morgan**

Summary of the Political and Social Thought of the Falangist Patriotic Movement of Uruguay (2013)

1 The Man:

THE 'MAN' PLAYS a fundamental role in this movement. He is the bearer of the eternal values. He is not an object on an abstract mass as he is in Marxist doctrine; nor is he captive as under the Capitalist plutocracy, but, rather, he is of an interclass cooperativism. The cornerstone of society is the 'man' who has natural rights which are always defended by us and without exception: we take this seriously and we go beyond the simple statements written on paper. We believe in the true rights of mankind. We believe in life, we believe in our country. We despise this current system that is inefficient, inconsistent, and contradictory. Clearest evidence of the moral destitution of this current State is its attacks on life through abortion. It is a clear example of just how badly this system fails to protect the life of its people. How can one pretend to defend life and liberty while at the same time you condone the murdering

of unborn babies? We are not hypocrites.

2 **Social Justice:**

We aspire to be a profound social revolution. We want a country that does not recognize an institution of a caste system; a homeland that endorses a society and economy cooperative, a social union. Ideas such as the "struggle of classes" and the "dictatorship of the proletariat", must be prohibited since they destroy the unity of our homeland. In the same way, our revolution has to shoot down the capitalist society, that is, the plutocratic social domination, which enslaves the workman and the pattern, and have forced them to antagonize each other leaving them at the mercy of communism.

We support the common property. We do not fall into the great mistake of Marxism that has denied any right to property to persons. We understand private property not as an absolute right, (as is the case with economic liberalism) but rather as a limited right which should be subject to a social function. The State shall provide all possible means for the development of family, community, and Trade Union property.

3 **Democracy:**

We have to understand first of all, that we do not deal in the concept of "democracy" which indulges the aristocracy and their many demagogues (*i. e. Plutocracy and oligarchs*). We say very loudly and clearly that we are Democrats and there should be no substance to the claims of enemies to the contrary. Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera said that 'the point of view of all political science is the striving for a peaceful, democratic, and a fair life.' But, to the contrary, the democracy in which we live is not the product of ideology,

but of demagogues and the special and vested interests of an oligarchy to the exclusive benefit of political parties.

In our current "democracy" it is prepended to all of the interests of the various political parties, and not to those of the homeland. We live under a regime of partisan-democratia (partidocratico), non-democratic, which has needed a restructuring and reform of our Constitution so that we can finally accomplish a truly democratic life.

Members (*of government*) should be representatives of localities or social sectors where natural life is mostly lived: families, municipalities, universities, and other centers of education and national defense. Our defense of political pluralism is based upon the 'man' firstly and foremost, not on reducing him to a sheer mechanism of political parties alone.

4 **Homeland and Nation:**

Falangists possess a broader and deeper sense of patriotism. For us, the ideal of 'homeland' is an exclusive consideration taking precedent above all other things. It is evident that the homeland is essential; the homeland unites us. We combat absurd ideas such as "class struggle", encouraged by Bolshevism, Plutocratic rule (plutoracia), and neo-liberalism. Instead of stressing the differences in social classes, though we understand the necessity for their existence, we also know that we must work together for the well-being of the homeland.

As above stated, we aspire to a social revolution. In this revolution feelings of hatred and resentment among our fellow citizens shall come to an end. We must unite under the banner of our great and immortal homeland and proudly work for it. Against the hatred among compatriots: union, cooperatives, and trade unionism (*i. e. National Syndicalism*).

* * *

‘THE SOCIAL QUESTION AND EDUCATION’

By **Pedro Baptista de Carvalho—Brazilian Integralist**

A Social Question

SOCIAL QUESTIONS CANNOT be solved with assistance and much less with alms. Social problems are only resolved with jobs and fair wages.

Negation should be the best solution to the differences between social classes. However, fair trading is only possible when there is a level playing field between the parties concerned.

In social disputes, social confrontation never brought definitive solutions. At most, it only brings a temporary result, benefiting one or another social category.

The *labor* strike only causes social damage that is both immediate and direct. The ‘class struggle’ is the main factor of social disintegration. It causes social entropy and the beginning of the end of a civilization.

A Question of Educating

Education consists in knowing to recognize and respect the rights of others. Education cannot be taught with words alone. Education is transmitted primarily through examples.

We must not confuse teaching those who want to learn (the act or informing), with education (the act of ‘forming’).

Not only to inform those who are ‘wondering’, but to help to form and cultivate the persons’ need to understand their own personal ‘beingness’. To educate is not only to direct. To educate is also to show paths.

To educate is not just the filling of heads. To educate is to awaken consciousness. It is about human behavior; to discuss behavioral criteria. We must not confuse human ethics and propriety, which are relative concepts, with honesty and honor which are absolute concepts.

‘JUSTICIALISM’

from ***Juan Domingo Perón***,—‘**Perónist Doctrine’**. Edited by
the Perónist Party. (***Buenos Aires, 1952***)

What is Perónism?

Speech of 20 August, 1948

IN CONGRESS A few days ago, some of our legislators have asked what Perónism is. Perónism is humanism in action; Perónism is a new political doctrine, which rejects all the ills of the politics of previous times; in the social sphere it is a theory which establishes a little equality among men, which grants them similar opportunities and assures them of a future so that in this land there may be no one who lacks what he needs for a living, even though it may be necessary that those who are wildly squandering what they possess may be deprived of the right to do so, for the benefit of those who have nothing at all; in the economic sphere its aim is that every Argentine should pull his weight for the Argentines and that economic policy which maintained that this was a permanent and perfect school of capitalist exploitation should be replaced by a doctrine of social economy under which the distribution of our wealth, which we force the earth to yield up to us and which furthermore we are elaborating, may be shared out fairly among all those who have contributed by their efforts to amass it.

That is Perónism. And Perónism is not learned, nor just talked about: one feels it or else disagrees. Perónism is a question of the heart rather than of the head. Fortunately I am not one of those Presidents who live a life apart, but on the contrary I live among my people, just as I have always lived; so that I share all the ups and downs, all their

successes an all their disappointments with my working class people. I feel an intimate satisfaction when I see a workman who is well dressed or taking his family to the theatre. I feel just as satisfied as I would feel if I were that workman myself. That is Perónism.

One Single Class of Men

I have never been of the opinion that in this world there should be groups of men against other groups, nations against nations and much less can I admit that men should be enemies because they profess a different religion. How could it be admitted, how could it be explained that anti-Semitism should exist in Argentina? In Argentina there should not be more than one single class of men: men who work together for the welfare of the nation, without any discrimination whatever. They are good Argentines, no matter what their origin, their race or their religion may be, if they work every day for the greatness of the Nation, and they are bad Argentines, no matter what they say or how much they shout, if they are not laying a new stone every day towards the construction of the building of the happiness and grandeur of our Nation.

That is the only discrimination which Argentina should make among its inhabitants: those who are doing constructive work and those who are not; those who are benefactors to the country and those who are not. For this reason in this freest land of the free, as long as I am President of the Republic, no one will be persecuted by anyone else.

THE TWENTY TRUTHS OF THE PERÓNIST JUSTICIALISM

From a speech of 17th October 1950 made at the Plaza de Mayo.

1. True democracy is the system where the Government carries out the will of the people defending a single objective: the interests of the people.

2. Perónism is an eminently popular movement. Every political clique is opposed to the popular interests and, therefore, it cannot be a Perónist organization.

3. A Perónist must be at the service of the cause. He who invoking the name of this cause is really at the service of a political clique or a "caudillo" (local political leader) is only a Perónist by name.

4. There is only one class of men for the Perónist cause: the workers.

5. In the New Argentina, work is a right which dignifies man and a duty, because it is only fair that each one should produce at least what he consumes.

6. There can be nothing better for a Perónist than another Perónist.

7. No Perónist should presume to be more than he really is, nor should he adopt a position inferior to what his social status should be. When a Perónist starts to think that he is more important than he really is, he is about to become one of the oligarchy.

8. With reference to political action the scale of values for all Perónists is as follows: First, the Homeland; afterwards the cause, and then, the men themselves.

9. Politics do not constitute for us a definite objective but only a means of achieving the Homeland's welfare represented by the happiness of the people and the greatness of the nation.

10. The two main branches of Perónism are the Social Justice and the Social Welfare. With these we envelop the people in an embrace of justice and love.

11. Perónism desires the establishment of national unity and the abolition of civil strife. It welcomes heroes but does not want martyrs.

12. In the New Argentina the only privileged ones are the children.

13. A Government without a doctrine is a body without a soul. That is why Perónism has established its own political, economic and social doctrines: Justicialism.

14. Justicialism is a new philosophical school of life. It is simple, practical, popular and endowed with deeply Christian and humanitarian sentiments.

15. As a political doctrine, Justicialism establishes a fair balance between the rights of the individual and those of the community.

16. As an economic doctrine, Justicialism achieves a true form of social economy by placing capital at the service of the national economy and this at the service of social welfare.

17. As a social doctrine, Justicialism presides over an adequate distribution of Social Justice giving to each person the social rights he is entitled to.

18. We want a socially just, an economically free and a politically independent Argentina.

19. We are an organized State and a free people ruled by a centralized government.

20. The best of this land of ours is its people.

THE FUTURIST MANIFESTO

By ***Filippo Marinetti***

WE HAVE BEEN up all night, my friends and I, beneath mosque lamps whose brass cupolas are bright as our souls, because like them they were illuminated by the internal glow of electric hearts. And trampling underfoot our native sloth on opulent Persian carpets, we have been discussing right up to the limits of logic and scrawling the paper with demented writing.

Our hearts were filled with an immense pride at feeling ourselves standing quite alone, like lighthouses or like the sentinels in an outpost, facing the army of enemy stars encamped in their celestial bivouacs. Alone with the engineers in the infernal stoke holes of great ships, alone with the black spirits which rage in the belly of rogue locomotives, alone with the drunkards beating their wings against the walls.

Then we were suddenly distracted by the rumbling of huge double decker trams that went leaping by, streaked with light like the villages celebrating their festivals, which the Po in flood suddenly knocks down and uproots, and, in the rapids and eddies of a deluge, drags down to the sea.

Then the silence increased. As we listened to the last faint prayer of the old canal and the crumbling of the bones of the moribund palaces with their green growth of beard, suddenly the hungry automobiles roared beneath our windows.

"Come, my friends!" I said. "Let us go! At last Mythology and the mystic cult of the ideal have been left behind. We

are going to be present at the birth of the centaur and we shall soon see the first angels fly! We must break down the gates of life to test the bolts and the padlocks! Let us go! Here is they very first sunrise on earth! Nothing equals the splendor of its red sword which strikes for the first time in our millennial darkness."

We went up to the three snorting machines to caress their breasts. I lay along mine like a corpse on its bier, but I suddenly revived again beneath the steering wheel "a guillotine knife" which threatened my stomach. A great sweep of madness brought us sharply back to ourselves and drove us through the streets, steep and deep, like dried up torrents. Here and there unhappy lamps in the windows taught us to despise our mathematical eyes. "Smell," I exclaimed, "smell is good enough for wild beasts!"

And we hunted, like young lions, death with its black fur dappled with pale crosses, who ran before us in the vast violet sky, palpable and living.

And yet we had no ideal Mistress stretching her form up to the clouds, nor yet a cruel Queen to whom to offer our corpses twisted into the shape of Byzantine rings! No reason to die unless it is the desire to be rid of the too great weight of our courage!

We drove on, crushing beneath our burning wheels, like shirt-collars under the iron, the watch dogs on the steps of the houses.

Death, tamed, went in front of me at each corner offering me his hand nicely, and sometimes lay on the ground with a noise of creaking jaws giving me velvet glances from the bottom of puddles.

"Let us leave good sense behind like a hideous husk and let us hurl ourselves, like fruit spiced with pride, into the immense mouth and breast of the world! Let us feed the

unknown, not from despair, but simply to enrich the unfathomable reservoirs of the Absurd!"

As soon as I had said these words, I turned sharply back on my tracks with the mad intoxication of puppies biting their tails, and suddenly there were two cyclists disapproving of me and tottering in front of me like two persuasive but contradictory reasons. Their stupid swaying got in my way. What a bore! Pouah! I stopped short, and in disgust hurled myself "vlan!" head over heels in a ditch.

Oh, maternal ditch, half full of muddy water! A factory gutter! I savored a mouthful of strengthening muck which recalled the black teat of my Sudanese nurse!

As I raised my body, mud-spattered and smelly, I felt the red hot poker of joy deliciously pierce my heart. A crowd of fishermen and gouty naturalists crowded terrified around this marvel. With patient and tentative care they raised high enormous grappling irons to fish up my car, like a vast shark that had run aground. It rose slowly leaving in the ditch, like scales, its heavy coachwork of good sense and its upholstery of comfort.

We thought it was dead, my good shark, but I woke it with a single caress of its powerful back, and it was revived running as fast as it could on its fins.

Then with my face covered in good factory mud, covered with metal scratches, useless sweat and celestial grime, amidst the complaint of staid fishermen and angry naturalists, we dictated our first will and testament to all the living men on earth.

[*] ***The Italians have offered the world many fine innovations. The "Futurist Manifesto" is one of them. H. R. Morgan (2013)***

MANIFESTO OF FUTURISM

1. **W**e want to sing the love of danger, the habit of energy and rashness.

2. The essential elements of our poetry will be courage, audacity and revolt.

3. Literature has up to now magnified pensive immobility, ecstasy and slumber. We want to exalt movements of aggression, feverish sleeplessness, the double march, the perilous leap, the slap and the blow with the fist.

4. We declare that the splendor of the world has been enriched by a new beauty: the beauty of speed. A racing automobile with its bonnet adorned with great tubes like serpents with explosive breath… a roaring motor car which seems to run on machine-gun fire, is more beautiful than the Victory of Samothrace.

5. We want to sing the man at the wheel, the ideal axis of which crosses the earth, itself hurled along its orbit.

6. The poet must spend himself with warmth, glamor and prodigality to increase the enthusiastic fervor of the primordial elements.

7. Beauty exists only in struggle. There is no masterpiece that has not an aggressive character. Poetry must be a violent assault on the forces of the unknown, to force them to bow before man.

8. We are on the extreme promontory of the centuries! What is the use of looking behind at the moment when we must open the mysterious shutters of the impossible? Time and Space died yesterday. We are already living in the absolute, since we have already created eternal, omnipresent speed.

9. We want to glorify war" the only cure for the world "militarism, patriotism, the destructive gesture of the

anarchists, the beautiful ideas which kill, and contempt for woman.

10. We want to demolish museums and libraries, fight morality, feminism and all opportunist and utilitarian cowardice.

11. We will sing of the great crowds agitated by work, pleasure and revolt; the multicolored and polyphonic surf of revolutions in modern capitals: the nocturnal vibration of the arsenals and the workshops beneath their violent electric moons: the gluttonous railway stations devouring smoking serpents; factories suspended from the clouds by the thread of their smoke; bridges with the leap of gymnasts flung across the diabolic cutlery of sunny rivers: adventurous steamers sniffing the horizon; great-breasted locomotives, puffing on the rails like enormous steel horses with long tubes for bridle, and the gliding flight of aeroplanes whose propeller sounds like the flapping of a flag and the applause of enthusiastic crowds.

It is in Italy that we are issuing this manifesto of ruinous and incendiary violence, by which we today are founding Futurism, because we want to deliver Italy from its gangrene of professors, archaeologists, tourist guides and antiquaries.

Italy has been too long the great second-hand market. We want to get rid of the innumerable museums which cover it with innumerable cemeteries.

Museums, cemeteries! Truly identical in their sinister juxtaposition of bodies that do not know each other. Public dormitories where you sleep side by side for ever with beings you hate or do not know. Reciprocal ferocity of the painters and sculptors who murder each other in the same museum with blows of line and color. To make a visit once a year, as one goes to see the graves of our dead once a year, that we could allow! We can even imagine placing flowers once a year at the feet of the Gioconda! But to take our

sadness, our fragile courage and our anxiety to the museum every day, that we cannot admit! Do you want to poison yourselves? Do you want to rot?

What can you find in an old picture except the painful contortions of the artist trying to break uncrossable barriers which obstruct the full expression of his dream?

To admire an old picture is to pour our sensibility into a funeral urn instead of casting it forward with violent spurts of creation and action. Do you want to waste the best part of your strength in a useless admiration of the past, from which you will emerge exhausted, diminished, trampled on?

Indeed daily visits to museums, libraries and academies (those cemeteries of wasted effort, calvaries of crucified dreams, registers of false starts!) is for artists what prolonged supervision by the parents is for intelligent young men, drunk with their own talent and ambition.

For the dying, for invalids and for prisoners it may be all right. It is, perhaps, some sort of balm for their wounds, the admirable past, at a moment when the future is denied them. But we will have none of it, we, the young, strong and living Futurists!

Let the good incendiaries with charred fingers come! Here they are! Heap up the fire to the shelves of the libraries! Divert the canals to flood the cellars of the museums! Let the glorious canvases swim ashore! Take the picks and hammers! Undermine the foundation of venerable towns!

The oldest among us are not yet thirty years old: we have therefore at least ten years to accomplish our task. When we are forty let younger and stronger men than we throw us in the waste paper basket like useless manuscripts! They will come against us from afar, leaping on the light cadence of their first poems, clutching the air with their predatory fingers and sniffing at the gates of the academies the good

scent of our decaying spirits, already promised to the catacombs of the libraries.

But we shall not be there. They will find us at last one winter's night in the depths of the country in a sad hangar echoing with the notes of the monotonous rain, crouched near our trembling aeroplanes, warming our hands at the wretched fire which our books of today will make when they flame gaily beneath the glittering flight of their pictures.

They will crowd around us, panting with anguish and disappointment, and exasperated by our proud indefatigable courage, will hurl themselves forward to kill us, with all the more hatred as their hearts will be drunk with love and admiration for us. And strong healthy Injustice will shine radiantly from their eyes. For art can only be violence, cruelty, injustice.

The oldest among us are not yet thirty, and yet we have already wasted treasures, treasures of strength, love, courage and keen will, hastily, deliriously, without thinking, with all our might, till we are out of breath.

Look at us! We are not out of breath, our hearts are not in the least tired. For they are nourished by fire, hatred and speed! Does this surprise you? it is because you do not even remember being alive! Standing on the world's summit, we launch once more our challenge to the stars!

Your objections? All right! I know them! Of course! We know just what our beautiful false intelligence affirms: "We are only the sum and the prolongation of our ancestors," it says. Perhaps! All right! What does it matter? But we will not listen! Take care not to repeat those infamous words! Instead, lift up your head!

Standing on the world's summit we launch once again our insolent challenge to the stars!

ANTHOLOGY OF THE WRITINGS OF JOSE ANTONIO PRIMO DE RIVERA

Originally translated from the Spanish by **Senor Torrante (1947)**

INTELLECTUAL FOUNDATIONS

1. As we stand beside this milestone on our road, with our face set towards History, a strict conciseness of language and attitude is demanded of us. ***Speech, Madrid, 19-5-35.***

2... . The Good and the True are permanent categories of right reason, and to find out if one is right, it is not enough to inquire of the king—whose will, in the eyes of partisans of absolute monarchy, was always just—, nor is it enough to inquire of the people-whose will, in the eyes of Rousseau's followers, is always correct—; but at every instant we must see whether our acts are in accord with a permanent aim and object. ***Parliament, 19-12-33.***

3... . it is possible to attain to enthusiasm and love by way of the intelligence. ***Ibid., 3-7-34.***

4. The heart has its reasons which the reason does not comprehend. But the intelligence also has its own manner of loving, such as perhaps the heart is unaware of. ***Essay on Nationalism, April 1934.***

5. The unimpassioned interplay of laws is always surer than our individual understanding, just as the balance weighs more accurately than our hand. ***Lecture, 'Law and Politics', 11-11-35.***

THE CONCEPTION OF MAN

(A)

6. We regard the individual as the fundamental unity, because that is the feeling of Spain, which has always regarded man as a bearer of eternal values. ***Speech, 'Spain and Barbarism', Valladolid, 3-3-35.***

7... . the liberty of man is only respected when he is considered, as we consider him, as the bearer of eternal values; when he is considered as the corporeal envelope of a soul capable of damnation or of salvation. Only when he is thus considered can it be said that his liberty is truly respected... ***Speech, Madrid, 29-10-33.***

8. The Individual bears the same relation to the Person as the People bears to the Political Society.

9. Nobody is "one" except in so far as there can exist "others". What makes us Persons is not our individual physical equipment, but the existence of others whose being also "persons" differentiates us. ***'F.E.', 7-12-33.***

10... . the true juridical reality is the "person"; that is, the individual, regarded not from his own point of view as a living reality, but as an active or passive bearer of social relations which are governed by the Law; as capable of making demands, being coerced, attacking and transgressing. ***Essay on Nationalism, April 1934.***

11. One is only a "person" in so far as one is "another"; that is, one as against the others, a potential creditor or debtor with regard to the others, a holder of positions that are not those of others. The personality, then, is not determined from within by being an aggregate of cells, but from without, by being a bearer of relations. ***Ibid.***

12. Nobody was ever born a member of a political party; on the contrary, we are all born members of one family; we

are all citizens of one Municipality; we all press forward in the exercise of one task of work. ***Speech, Madrid, 29-10-33.***

13. Only when service is given is human dignity attained. Only he is great who binds himself down to filling a place in the achievement of a great undertaking. This essential point, the greatness of the end aspired to, is what you are not willing to take into consideration. ***2nd Open Letter to Luca de Tena, 'ABC', 23-3-33.***

14. The "young gentleman" is the degeneration of the "gentleman", the "hidalgo", who wrote until very recently the finest pages in our much as he was capable of "renouncing", that is, giving up privileges, comfort and pleasures, in order to honor a lofty ideal of "service". Noblesse oblige, was what the gentlemen, the hidalgos,; that is to say, nobility "demands" it. The more one is, the more one has to be capable of omitting to be. And so it was from those who were models of the hidalgo that most of the names emerged which won laurels in sacrifice. ***'Señoritismo', 'F. E.', 25-1-34.***

(B)

15. Consider what European man has become reduced to by the action of capitalism. He has no longer a house, he has no longer an individuality, he has no longer a craftsman's ability; he is now merely a number of conglomerations. ***Speech, Madrid, 19-5-35.***

16… . the characteristic feature of the Spanish tragedy and the European tragedy… (is this): man has been disintegrated, uprooted, transformed… into a number on the electoral roll and a number in the queue at the factory gates; what this disintegrated man is crying out for is to feel the ground under his feet again, to be put in harmony once more with a collective destiny, a common destiny, or simply—calling things by their right names—with the destiny of his Patria.

Lecture, Madrid, 9-4-35.

(C)

17. In the city you hardly see the man. He is always concealed behind his job, behind his clothes. In the city you see the merchant, the electrician, the lawyer, and so on. In the country you always see the man. ***'Go to the Country'***

18. Those of us who go from the city into the country always feel a little inferior in the presence of the people there, who can barely discern us amid the clothing. ***Ibid.***

(D)

19. When the world is off its hinges, it cannot he put to rights by technical patching: it needs a complete new order. And this order must once again spring from the individual. ***Speech, 'Spain and Barbarism', Valladolid, 3-3-35.***

HUMAN FREEDOM

20. In face of Lenin's contemptuous "Freedom, what for?" we begin by affirming the freedom of the individual and by recognizing the individual. We who have been maligned as advocates of State Pantheism, begin by accepting the reality of the free individual, the bearer of eternal values. ***Lecture, 'State, Individual, Freedom', 28-3-35.***

21. Man must be free, but freedom does not exist except within an order. ***Speech, 'Spain and Barbarism', Valladolid, 3-3-35.***

PROPERTY AND LABOR AS ELEMENTARY HUMAN ATTRIBUTES

22. Property is the direct projection of man upon his goods; it is an elementary human attribute. Capitalism has been replacing this property of man by the property of capital, by the technical instrument of economic domination. ***Speech, Madrid, 19-5-35.***

23. Labor is a human function, just as property is a human attribute. What is all this about harmonizing capital with Labor? ***Speech, 'Spain and Barbarism', Valladolid, 3-3-35.***

CONCEPT OF LIFE

24. The religious and the military are the only two complete and serious modes of understanding life. ***Speech, Madrid, 17-11-35.***

25. All human existence—of individuals or nations—is a tragic struggle between the automatic urge and that which is hard work. ***Essay on Nationalism, April 1934.***

26. The spiritual positions *which* captures in heroic struggle against the automatic urge, are those which later on become the deepest foundations of what is genuine in us. ***Ibid.***

27. Such, amongst others, is the sweet recompense that is won by the effort at improvement: elementary joys may perhaps be lost, yet others are waiting at the end of the road, others so dear and so keen that they even invade the sphere of the old affections, which fade away at the outset of the undertaking that overrides them. ***Ibid.***

PEOPLE

28... . a people is... a single integer of destiny, effort, sacrifice and struggle, which must be considered as a whole, marches through history as a whole, and must be served as a whole. ***Parliament, 19-12-33.***

HISTORY

29. The life of all peoples is a tragic struggle between the automatic and the historic. Peoples in a primitive state are able to feel the characteristics of the soil in an almost vegetative way. When they transcend this primitive state, peoples realize that they are molded not by the characteristics of the soil, but by the mission that differentiates them from others amid universality. When the decadent stage in this sense of universal mission is reached, separatisms begin to flourish once more, and once more people begin to go back to their own soil, their own music, their own dialect, and once more that glorious integrity, which was the Spain of the great days, is placed in jeopardy. ***Speech, Valladolid, 4-3-34.***

30. A complete interpretation of history and politics, as I said at the meeting in the Comedy Theater, is like the law of love: one must possess an understanding of love, which without written program or numbered sections and paragraphs will tell us at any given instant when we must embrace and when we must quarrel. ***Speech, Madrid, 2-2-36.***

31. That we are witnessing the end of an epoch is a fact that practically no-one, unless he has an axe to grind, will dare to deny. This epoch which is now in its death-throes has been a short one and a brilliant. Its birth may be placed in the 3rd decade of the 18th century; its internal motive power might be expressed in the single word-Optimism. The

19th century, developing as it did under the tutelary shades of Adam Smith and Rousseau, really believed that by leaving things to run themselves everything would turn out for the best both in the political and the economic order. ***Tradition and Revolution, Aug. 1935.***

32. Our times grant no quarter. Our lot has been a warlike one, in which we may spare neither our skin nor our heart's blood. In obedience to our destiny we travel from place to place, enduring the shame of appearing like a public show; obliged to shout aloud things we have thought out in the austerest silence; suffering distortion at the hands of those who do not and those who will not understand us; breaking our backs in this ridiculous sham, this procedure of winning over "public opinion" as if the people, capable as it is of love or anger, were collectively susceptible of opinion. ***'Haz', 5-12-35.***

33. All young men conscious of their responsibility are pressing for the reform of the world. They are pressing forward on the path of action, and, which is more important on that of thought, without whose constant supervision all action is mere barbarism. We could ill afford to stand aside from this universal concern, we men of Spain for whom the days of our youth opened in the perplexities of the post-war years. ***Tradition and Revolution, Aug. 1935***.

34. We, the young, who are stirred by spiritual urges, free from the crude selfishness of the old political bosses—what we have been seeking is a Spain having greatness and justice, an order and a faith. ***'Arriba', 7-11-35.***

35. What are they waiting for now, the young men out in the cold? Shall they give up all hope? Shall they retire to the ivory towers? Shall they wait, and put their trust anew in party cries, once more to seduce them and once more to bring disillusion? ***Ibid.***

PATRIA AND PATRIOTISM

36. The Patria is that which is bodied forth as a great collective undertaking. If there is no undertaking there is no Patria; without the presence of faith in a common destiny, the whole thing fades away into native scenery, into local tastes and colors. ***Bagpipe and Lyre, 'F. E.', 11-1-34,***

37. The Patria is a complete unit, in which all individuals and all classes are integrated; the Patria cannot remain in the hands of the most powerful class or of the best organized party. The Patria is a transcendent synthesis, an individual synthesis, with ends of its own to achieve. ***Speech, Madrid, 29-10-33.***

38. A dream of unity and a common task, as against the narrow particularism and retrogression of the suicidal disintegrations. ***Exhortation to Catalonia.***

39. The Patria is the only possible collective destiny. If we reduce it to something smaller, say to the home or the plot of ground, then we are left with an almost physical relationship alone; if we extend it to the world, we get lost in a conception too vague to be grasped. It is exactly the Patria which on a physical basis forms a differentiation in the universal order; it is precisely that which binds together, and at the same time differentiates within the universal order, the destiny of a whole people; it is, as we always say, a unity of destiny within the Universal. ***Lecture, Madrid. 9-4-35.***

40. We want the Patria to be understood as a harmonic indivisible reality, above all conflicts of individuals, classes, parties and natural differences.

41. A Patria that is clear-cut, light-footed, enterprising, wiped clean of the smear of brass-band jingoism and of many a crust of inveterate filth. Not a Patria to be extolled in stodgy effusions, but to be understood and felt as the

executrix of a great destiny.

42. Patria, meaning not merely the soil upon which a number of rival parties cut one another to pieces—even though only with the weapons of invective-in their ambition for power. Nor the field in which the everlasting conflict unfolds between a bourgeoisie trying to exploit the proletariat and a proletariat trying to tyrannize over the bourgeoisie. Not these, but the heartfelt unity of all in the service of a historic mission, a supreme communal destiny, which allots to each man his task, his rights, and his sacrifices. ***Open Letter to Luca de Tena. 'A B C'. 23-3-33.***

43. Spain is more than a constitutional form; . . . Spain is more than a historical circumstance; . . . Spain can never be anything which is in opposition to the aggregate of her lands and to each individual one of them. ***Parliament, 2-1-34.***

44. Spain, not as an empty invocation of inflated shams, but as a complete expression of a spiritual and human content: Patria, bread and Justice.

45. Spain, since her existence began, has meant and always will mean a job to be done; . . . Spain is only justified by having a mission to fulfill; . . . Spain cannot be given over to unending seasons of leisure, shallowness, and lack of vital purpose. ***Parliament, 25-1-35.***

46. Spain's justification is an imperial vocation to unite languages, to unite races, to unite peoples, and to unite customs in one universal destiny.

47. Spain is "irrevocable". Spaniards may make decisions on secondary things; but as to the essence of Spain itself there is nothing for them to decide. Spain is "ours", as an heirloom is ours: our generation is not the absolute owner of Spain: she has come down to them from the efforts of generations and generations in the past, and she must be

handed on like a sacred deposit, to the generations to come. If our generation took advantage of this moment of its own passing presence amid the continuity of the centuries in order to split Spain into fragments, our generation would be committing the most abominable fraud and most perfidious treason that it is possible to imagine against those who are to follow. ***Bagpipe and Lyre, 'F. E.', 11-1-34.***

(E)

48. If patriotism were a matter of tenderness of affection, it would not be the highest of human loves. Man's patriotism would be inferior to that of the plants, which surpass him in their clinging to the soil. The name of patriotism cannot be given to the first component of our nature that we come upon, namely that primordial impregnation with the earthy element. Patriotism—if it is to achieve its highest degree—must be that which lies absolutely at the opposite extreme; that which is most difficult; that which is most purged of earthy drosses; that which is feelings but in the intellect. ***Bagpipe and Lyre, 'F. E.', 11-1-34.***

49... . there is no fertile patriotism except what comes by the way of criticism. And I will tell you that our own patriotism too has come by the way of criticism. We are not stirred to either a greater or a lesser degree by that musical-comedy patriotism which rejoices in the, present-day mediocrities and paltrinesses of Spain and in heavy interpretations of the past. We love Spain because we find her unattractive. Those who love their country because they find her attractive love her with a will towards contact, they love her physically, sensually. We love her with a will towards perfection. It is not this ruin, this decay of our physical Spain of today that we love. What we love is the eternal and changeless meta physic of Spain. ***Speech,***

Madrid, 19-5-35.

50. This type of patriotism is harder to feel: but in its difficulty lies its greatness… Just as patriotism towards one's native earth is felt without any effort, or even with a toxic and sensual pleasure, it is a fine human undertaking to escape from its toils and rise above it into the patriotism of the hard, intellectual mission. Such will be the task of a new nationalism: to replace the feeble attempt to combat Romantic movements with Romantic weapons, by resolutely erecting strong, classical, impregnable redoubts against the floods of Romanticism; by sinking the foundations of patriotism not in emotional but in intellectual ground; by causing patriotism to be not a vague feeling that withers with the least inconstancy of will, but a truth as unshakable as the truths of mathematics. This does not mean that patriotism will be no more than an arid product of the intellect. ***Essay on Nationalism, April 1934.***

THEORY OF THE NATION

51. The nation is not a geographical reality, nor a racial, nor a linguistic one; it is essentially a historical unity. An aggregation of men upon a piece of ground is only a nation in so far as it is a function of the universal, if it fulfills a destiny of its own in History, a destiny which is not that of "the rest". "The rest" are always those by whom we tell that we are "one". In the common life which I share with men. I am he who is not any of the others. In the universal common life each nation is that which none of the others is. Hence, nations are determined from without; they are distinguished from the environment amidst which they fulfill their own, and universal, destiny. ***'F.E.', 7-12-33.***

52... . We realize that a nation is not merely the attractive force of the soil on which we are born, it is not that direct sentimental emotion that we all feel in the presence of our own earth, but a nation is a unity of destiny in the universal order, it is a plane to which a people has risen when it fulfills a universal mission in History... ***Parliament, 4-1-34.***

53. Nations are not "contracts" that can be rescinded at the will of those who enter into them; they are "foundations" with a proper substantiality of their own, not dependent on the will of the many or of the few.

54. From now on, for clearness sake, it will be convenient to use the word "nation", meaning by that word precisely this:—the political society capable of finding its machinery of operation in the State. Thus the theme of the present essay stands defined: to explain what the nation is; whether it is the spontaneous reality of a people, as the Romantic nationalists think, or whether it is something not determined by natural characteristics. ***Essay on Nationalism, April 1934.***

55. The Romantic thesis was aimed at "disqualification",

that is, at the abolition of all elements such as Law and History added as a result of effort to the primitive entities of individual and people. Law had transformed the "individual" into a "person"; History had transformed the "people" into the "polis", into the political condition of a State... For the Romantic thesis it was a matter of vital interest to return to the primitive, to the spontaneous, in either case. ***Ibid.***

56. Romanticism is a frail attitude which seeks precisely to lay basic foundations on swampy soil; Romanticism is a school of though with no hard and fast lines, which at each moment and in each crisis entrusts the Sensitive faculty with the solution of those problems which should only be entrusted to the reason. ***Parliament, 3-7-34.***

57. Romanticism had a leaning towards naturism. The "return to nature" was its watchword. Thus, the "nation" came to be identified with that which was "native". The things that determined a nation were the ethnological, linguistic, geographical and climatic characteristics. In the limiting case, community of usages, customs and tradition; but the word tradition is to be taken as little more than the remembrance of the same reiterated usage, and not in any reference to a historical process that should be like a starting point towards a perhaps unattainable objective. The most dangerous nationalisms, for their disintegrative effect, are those which have envisaged the nation in this manner. If it be granted that the nation is determined by the spontaneous element, the particularist nationalisms achieve an impregnable position. Undoubtedly the spontaneous element is in accord with this view. That is why it is so easy to feel local patriotism. That is why peoples get so readily lit up by the joyous rapture of their own songs, their own festivals, their own soil. In all this there is something like a sensuous appeal, which can be perceived even in the smell of the earth; a physical, primordial, warming and quickening

current, something akin to drunkenness or to the fulness of plants in the period of fertilization It is to this rustic and primitive condition that nationalisms of Romantic type owe their extreme brittleness. Nothing angers men and peoples more than to find obstacles in the path of their most elementary urges: hunger and sex—appetites of an order analogous to the dim call of the earth—are capable, if unsatisfied, of unleashing the gravest tragedies… . When one of these primordial feelings implanted in the depths of a people's instinct is offended, their elemental reaction in an opposite direction is inevitable, even on, the part of those least wedded to the nationalist spirit. It is almost a question of a biological phenomenon. Not much brighter, however, is the attitude of those who, when confronted with the feeling of localistic patriotism, have been straining hard for the direct awakening of a merely unitarian patriotic feeling. Sentiment for sentiment, the simplest always prevails. When unitary patriotism descends to the plane of sensation, perceptible by an almost vegetable consciousness, the nearer it is the more intense it becomes. How, then, is the patriotism of the large, heterogeneous units to be revived? By nothing less than revising the idea of the "nation" in order to set it up on a different footing. And here we may employ as our rule what has been said regarding the difference between the "individual" and the "person". Just as the person is the individual regarded as a function of society, so the nation is the people regarded as a function of the universal order. The Person is not so designated qua dark or fair, tall or short, a speaker of this or that language, but qua bearer of such and such definitely regulated social relationships. One is only a Person in so far as one is "another"; that is, one as against the Others, a potential creditor or debtor with regard to others, a holder of positions that are not those of the others. The Personality,

then, is not determined from within by being an aggregate of cells, but from without, by being a bearer of relations. In the same way, a people is not a nation by virtue of any kind of physical qualification, by local colors or savors, but by "being Other in the universal order"; that is to say, by having a destiny which is not that of the other nations. Thus, not every people or aggregate of peoples is a nation, but only those ones which fulfill a historic destiny differentiated in the universal order. Accordingly, it is superfluous to investigate whether a nation furnishes the prerequisites of geographical, racial or linguistic unity; what matters is to discover whether it possesses, in the universal order, this unity of historic destiny. The classical ages saw this with their usual clarity. That is why they never used the words "patria" and "nation" in the Romantic sense, or anchored patriotism to a dim love of the soil. Rather did they prefer expressions having an allusion to the "historic instrument". The word "Spain", which in itself connotes an Undertaking, will always possess much more significance than the phrase "the Spanish nation". In England, which is perhaps the country having the most classic patriotism of all, not only the word "patria", does not exist, but there are few people capable of distinguishing the word "King", the symbol of the unity operating throughout their history, from the word "country", which is a reference to the territorial basis of that unity itself. We have reached the end of our journey. It is only when thus understood that a nation's patriotism can prevail over the disintegrative effect of local nationalisms. Everything genuine that the latter contain must be recognized; but in face of them it is necessary to arouse a vigorous movement of aspiration towards the nationalism which is missionary and which conceives the Patria as a historic unity of destiny. ***Essay on Nationalism, April 1934.***

THE STATE

58. We want the State to be always an instrument at the service of a historic destiny, at the service of a historic mission of unity; we reckon that the State is behaving well if it believes in this complete historical destiny, if it regards the people as an integrated total of aspirations, because we realize that that is what a people is: a single integer of destiny, effort, sacrifice and struggle, which must be considered as a whole, marches through History as a whole, and must be served as a whole. ***Parliament, 19-12-33.***

59. We consider that the conduct of a State, just like that of an individual or a class, is justified, at any given moment, only in so far as it conforms at each moment to an unchanging rule or norm. ***Parliament, 19-12-33.***

60... . what is this business of a strong State? A State may be strong when it serves a great destiny, when it feels itself to be the instrument of a great destiny for a people. Otherwise the State is tyrannical. ***Lecture, Madrid, 9-4-35.***

61... . the only State which can be strong without being tyrannical is one that serves a unity of destiny. That is how the strong State, as servant of the consciousness of unity, is the real guarantee of the individual's liberty. On the other hand, the State which does not feel itself to be the servant of one supreme unity is always afraid of being regarded as tyrannous. ***Speech, 'Spain and Barbarism', Valladolid, 3-3-35.***

62... . The deification of the State is the exact opposite of what we desire. ***Parliament, 19-12-33.***

63... . it is a false point of view which sets the individual in opposition to the State and conceives their respective sovereignties as antagonistic. This idea "sovereignty" has cost the world much blood and will cost it more. For in this sovereignty lies the principle that legitimizes any action

merely by virtue of its author's being who he is. Naturally, as against the Sovereign's right to do what he likes, the right of the individual to do what he likes will be raised in opposition. The case is thus insoluble… ***Lecture, 'State, Individual, Freedom', 4-4-35.***

64. The State entrenches itself behind its sovereignty, and the individual behind his; both fight for the right to do as they please. The case has no solution. But there is a just and a fruitful issue to this conflict, if it is envisaged from a different standpoint. That destructive antagonism disappears in proportion as the problem of the individual as against the State can be conceived not as a competition between powers and between rights, but as one of fulfillment of purposes and destinies. The Patria is a "unity of destiny in the universal order", and the individual is the holder of a mission all his own within the harmony which is the State. Here there is no room for disputes of any kind; the State cannot be false to its task nor can the individual fail to be a collaborator in his, in the perfect order of the nation's life… . The idea of "destiny" that which provides justification for the existence of an edifice (State or system), informed the loftiest age ever enjoyed by Europe: the 13th century, the century of St. Thomas. And it was born in the mind of friars. The friars looked the power of kings in the face, and denied them it in so far as it should not be justified by the fulfillment of a great end… If we accept this definition of the Being—the holder of a mission, the unit that fulfills a destiny —there blossoms forth the noble, great, robust conception of "service". If no-one exists save as an executor of a task, then precisely personality, unity and liberty themselves are attained by "serving" in the total harmony… Nobody feels himself duplicated, dissected, or self-contradictory, as between what he is in reality and what he represents in public life. The individual, then, takes part in the State as

one fulfilling a function, and not through the medium of the political parties; not as the representative of a false sovereignty, but by virtue of having a job and a family, by virtue of belonging to a Municipality. Thus a man is at once a diligent executive and a depositary of the Power… . The State, the synthesis of so many fruitful activities, looks to its universal destiny. And as the Leader is he to whom the highest magistracy has been entrusted, it is he who serves most. Coordinator of the multiplicity of particular destinies, helmsman controlling the course of the great ship of the Patria, he is the "First Servant"; he is, like him who incarnates the highest magistracy on earth "the slave of the slaves of God". ***Ibid.***

POLITICS

65. If political thought is not exacting in its approaches to problems—in other words, strict in the intellectual order—it will probably amount to no more than a heavy wing-flapping upon the surface of the mediocre. ***Tribute and Reproach to Ortega, 'Haz', 5-12-35.***

(B)

66. Political thought is, above all, temporal. Polities is a game played against Time in which not a single move may legitimately be postponed. In politics there is an obligation to arrive, and to arrive on time. ***Ibid.***

67. No regime can endure if it does not succeed in rallying around it the generation which is young at the moment of its own birth, and in order to rally the young generation it is essential to find the right words, to, hit on the right formula of ideological expression. ***Parliament, 6-6-34.***

68. When one reaches a political position by this somewhat dramatic path that I had to follow, this path on which I have had to endure many sufferings in the most intimate portion of my sensibility, one does not come forth into the outer world and abandon one's peace of mind, profession, normal way of life and chances of cultivating the things of the mind and living away from the noise, in that silence out of which the only really fruitful work emerges; one does not leave all that behind, I say, merely to have pleasure of raising one's arm in here. One does it because our generation, which has perhaps thirty or forty years of life before it, will not resign itself once more to continue living in that flat layer of existence bounded respectively by absence of historical interest and absence of social justice. ***Ibid.***

69. One must believe in something. When has anyone got

anywhere with a liberal point of view? The only fruitful cases, frankly, that I am aware of have come from the politics of belief, in one sense or another. When a State lets itself be won over to the conviction that nothing is good or evil and that its only duty is that of a policeman, that State perishes at the first warm blast of positive belief, in a series of municipal elections. ***1st Open Letter to Luca de Tena, «A B C». 22-3-33.***

70. All great political thought relies on the coming to birth of a great faith. Looking outwards from within—on the People, or on History—the statesman's function is a religious and poetical one. The lines of communication between the leader and his people are no longer merely intellectual, but poetical and religious. It is precisely in order that a people may not become watery or amorphous—may not lose its backbone—that the masses must follow their leaders as they would prophets. This inter-penetration of the mass by the leaders is attained by a process similar to that of love.

Hence the tremendous seriousness of the moment when one accepts a post of captaincy. Merely by taking it on, one assumes the vast and inescapable responsibility of revealing to a people—which as a mass is incapable of making the discovery by itself—where its real destiny lies. He who correctly strikes the first note, in the mysterious music of each age, cannot now excuse himself from finishing the melody. He now carries with him a whole people's hopes, and the tremendous account has been opened, the account of his stewardship in regard to them. What a responsibility will be his, if, as in Browning's poem, he draws a childlike crowd after him with his piping, only to bury them beneath a mountain from which there is no return! Tribute and Reproach to Ortega, ***'Haz', 5-12-35.***

71. There has been kindled in Europe, and there now

burns in Spain, the fire of a new faith. A faith which in the earthly and civil order, sees this as a primary truth: that a people is a total, indivisible, living entity, with a destiny of its own to fulfill in the universal order. The welfare of each one of those who integrate the people is not an individual interest but a collective one, with which the community, is bound to concern itself as being unequivocally and in the deepest sense its own. No private interest is foreign to the interest of the community, and accordingly it is not legitimate for anyone to shoot away the foundations of the community out of private interest, intellectual caprice, or pride. ***New Light in Spain, May 1934.***

72. There is the task of our times: to restore to men the ancient savors of Law and of Bread; to get them to see that law and order is better than license; that even occasional indulgence in license implies the certainty that a return to fixed moorings is possible. And on the other hand, in the economic order, to get man to feel the ground under his feet again, to bind him in a deeper sense to his things—the home he lives in and the daily work of his hands. ***Tradition and Revolution, August 1935.***

73. The man is the system; this is one of the deep human truths which Fascism has made effective again. The whole of the 19th century was wasted in thinking out machinery for good government. This is about as useful as trying to discover a thinking—machine or a loving-machine. Nothing genuine, permanent and difficult, such as governing, has ever been capable of being done by machinery; it has always been necessary in the end to have recourse to that which from the beginning of the world has been the one and only apparatus capable of guiding men: the Man. In other words: the leader, the hero. ***'The Man is the System', 1933.***

74. What machine of government, what system of checks and balances councils and assemblies, can replace that

picture of the Hero turned Father, with a little lamp burning ever beside him as he watches over the labor and the recreation of his people? ***Ibid.***

75. Ages can be divided into classical and middle ages: the latter are so characterized because they are in search of unity; the former are those which have found that unity. Classical ages, when complete, can only terminate in one way: consumption, catastrophe, barbarian invasion. ***Speech, 'Spain and Barbarism', Valladolid, 3-3-35.***

76. But in the midst of the barbarian invasion there have always been saved the larvae of those permanent values that were already contained in the preceding classical age. The barbarians laid low the Roman world, but observe that with their fresh blood they fertilized anew the ideas of the classical world. So also later, the structure of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance was established on spiritual foundations already laid in the ancient world. Very well: in the Russian Revolution, in the barbarian invasion we are now witnessing, there already lie, concealed and hitherto denied, the gems of a future and better order. It is ours to save those germs and we seek to save them. This is the real task that lies before Spain and our generation: to pass from this last bank of a collapsing economic and social order to the fresh and promising bank of an order that can be descried; but to leap from the one bank to the other by an effort of our will, our impetus and our clairvoyance: to leap from the one bank to the other without being dragged under by the torrent of the barbarian invasion. ***Speech, Madrid, 17-11-35.***

77. What is material can be saved by no-one; the thing that matters is that the catastrophe on the material plane shall not wreck the essential values of the spirit too. And these are what we seek to save, cost what it may, even if the price should he the sacrifice of all economic advantages.

Their loss is well worth while if Spain, our Spain, shall stem the final invasion of the barbarians. Speech, ***'Spain and Barbarism', Valladolid, 3-3-35.***

THEORY OF REVOLUTION

(A)

78... . a society that knows it has to reform itself is one that is aware of its own injustice, and a society that thinks itself unjust is incapable of defending itself with spirit. ***Parliament, 6-11-34.***

(B)

79. No-one ever risks his life for a material good. Material goods, comparable as they are with one another, are always placed below the higher good which is Life. The time when a man risks a comfortable life, or economic advantages, is when he feels himself filled with a mystic ardor by religion, country, or honor, or by a new sense of the society in which he lives. ***Ibid.***

80. Rebellions are always the product of at least two ingredients: the first ingredient, all pervading, is an internal explanation, a want of interior raison d'étre in the existing regime. This must be present for a rebellion to be raised with any likelihood of success; merely in order that a number of people shall rise in an attempt at rebellion, there must be a certain discontentment, a lack of any vital reason for existence on the part of the regime against which the rebellion is raised. As to this there is no doubt; rebellion have never been raised except against regimes beginning to totter. On the other hand, it is necessary that there shall exist a historical energy which seizes upon this state of discouragement, this want of internal raison d'étre in the political state it seeks to assail, to launch the attack with more or less good fortune. ***Ibid., 25-1-35.***

81. This urge to set everything rolling, come what may, is a frame of mind typical of exhausted and degenerate

periods. To set everything rolling is easier than collecting loose ends, tying them up again, sorting out the serviceable from the perished... Is not perhaps Laziness the Muse of many a revolution? ***Tradition and Revolution, August 1935.***

82. The Russian regime in Spain would be hell. But you know from theology that even hell is not absolute evil. In the same way, the Russian regime is not absolute evil either: it is, if you will allow me the expression, hell's version of the urge to a better world. ***Speech, Madrid, 17-11-35.***

(E)

83. A revolution is always, in principle, something anti-classical. The march of every revolution, however, righteous, breaks many harmonious units. But a revolution once set on the move can have but two outcomes: either it swamps everything or it is canalized. What is impossible is to evade it, to behave as if unaware of its existence. ***'F.E.', 7-12-33.***

(F)

84. Revolution is needed when, at the end of a long process of decadence, the people has already lost, or is on the point of losing, all historical form. ***'Arriba', 30-5-35.***

85. A revolution—if it is to be fruitful and not to be dissipated in ephemeral riots—demands the clear consciousness of a new rule of life and a determined will to apply it. ***'Haz', 12-10-35.***

86. Revolution is necessary, not exactly when the people has become corrupted, but when its institutions, ideas and tastes have arrived at sterility or are very near reaching it. At such moments historical degeneration is produced. Not death by cataclysm, but a damming up into puddles without grace and without hope. All collective attitudes are born

sickly, as the offspring of a mating of almost exhausted parents. The life of the community grows fiat, gets silly, sinks into bad taste and mediocrity. There is no remedy for this except by a clean cut and a fresh start. The furrows need new seed, historic seed, for the old has now come to the end of its fertility. But who is to. be the Sower? Who, is to choose the seed and the moment to scatter it over the earth? That is the difficult question. ***Ibid.***

87. This truth can escape no-one who meditates over these present moments; at the end of a sterile historical period, when a people—through its own fault or that of others—has let all the great springs of action go to rust, how is it going to achieve, by itself, the huge task of regeneration? . . . A sunken people is incapable of discerning and applying the Rule: that very fact is what constitutes its ruin. To have ready to hand the springs that are essential for the accomplishment of a fruitful revolution is an unmistakable sign that revolution is not necessary. And, conversely; to stand in need of revolution is to lack the clearness and drive required to long for it and to carry it through. In a word, peoples en masse are incapable of saving themselves, because the fact of being fit to achieve salvation is a proof that one is already safe. ***Ibid.***

88. A revolution cannot be achieved by, a mass of the people that needs revolution. ***Ibid.***

89. Peoples have never been stirred by any but poets; alas for him who, when faced with the poetry of destruction, cannot uplift the poetry of promise! ***Speech, Madrid, 29-10-31.***

(G)

90. Everyone who throws himself into creating a revolution pledges himself to complete it: what cannot be done is to defraud it. ***Parliament, 25-1-35.***

91… . unhappy are they who do not come to grips with the roaring torrent of revolution—More or less widespread everywhere today—and turn into useful channels the whole of the impetus it possesses. ***'F. E.'. 7-12-33.***

92. No revolution produces stable results unless it brings to birth a Caesar of its own. He alone is capable of divining the course of history lying buried beneath the ephemeral clamor of the mass. The masses may not understand him or be grateful to him, but it is he alone who serves them. ***'Arriba', 31-10-35.***

93. Revolution is the work of a resolute minority who are proof against discouragement. A minority whose first steps the masses will not understand, because the inner light is the most precious thing they have lost as victims of a decadent period. ***'Haz', 12-10-35.***

(H)

94. No revolutionary event is or ever has been justified with respect to the preceding juridical order. Every political system that exists in the world, without exception, has been born in open strife with the political order that was in force at the time of its advent; for one of the things not included among the faculties of political orders is the faculty of making a will. ***Parliament, 6-6-34.***

95… . a revolutionary regime is always to be judged by its record, and by its record as viewed in the light of history, not in the light of an episode; its record, which is necessarily assessed by making a comparison between what the revolutionary regime set out to do when it broke with the preceding system, and what it left behind when it concluded its own cycle. ***Ibid.***

COMMAND

96. **L**eadership is the supreme office, which exacts every sacrifice, even that of losing all intimacy; which daily demands the divination of things not subject to rules, with the agonizing responsibility of executive action. Therefore leadership must be understood with humility, as a post of service, which, come what may, cannot be abandoned out of either impatience, discouragement or cowardice. ***'Haz', 12-10-33.***

97. The leader should not obey the public; he should serve it, which is a different thing. To serve it means to direct the exercise of the command for the people's good, achieving the good of the people ruled, even though the people itself be unaware what its good is; in other words, to feel himself in tune with the people's historical destiny, even though dissenting with what the masses feel a desire for. ***Ibid.***

98. To be a leader, to be victorious, an to say to the masses next day, "It is you who are in command; I am here to obey you", is a cowardly manner of evading the divine burden of command. Ibid.

99. Leaders have no excuse if they desert. ***Ibid.***

100. Leaders have no right to any "disenchantment". They cannot capitulate and thus surrender the battered illusions of all those who have followed in their train. ***Tribute and Reproach to Ortega, 'Haz', 5-12-35***

CRITIQUE OF POLITICAL LIBERALISM

(A)

101. **L**iberalism is, on one hand, the regime without faith, the regime that hands over everything, even the essentials of the country's destiny, to free discussion. For Liberalism, nothing is absolutely true or false. The truth is, in each case, what the greater number of votes say. Thus, it does not matter to Liberalism if a people agrees upon suicide, provided that the proposed suicide is carried out in accordance with electoral practice... . And since for the functioning of electoral practice the existence of factions must be encouraged and strife between them must be stimulated, the Liberal system is the system of permanent disunion, permanent want of popular faith in any profound community of destiny. ***New Light in Spain, May 1934.***

102. Liberalism brings division, and unrest in the realm of ideas; Socialism opens the even more violent chasm of economic strife in our midst, Under either regime, what becomes of the unity of destiny, without which no people is properly speaking a people at all? ***Ibid.***

103. The State believes in nothing; the State believes neither in liberty nor in the sovereignty of the people, for it suspends both whenever required. The State does not even believe itself to be the depository or the executor of a paramount purpose. ***Parliament, 6-11-34.***

104. The Liberal State believes in nothing, not even in itself. It stands by with folded arms before experiments of every description, including even those aimed at the destruction of the State itself. It is satisfied if everything develops in accordance with certain regulation forms of procedure. Could anything more foolish be imagined? A

State in whose eyes nothing is true elevates to the position of an absolute and unchangeable truth this attitude of doubt, and this alone. It makes a dogma of antidogmatism. Hence the Liberals are prepared. to let themselves be killed for maintaining that no idea is worth men's while to kill each other for. ***1st Open Letter to Luca de Tena, 'A B C', 22-3-33.***

105. Liberalism is the mockery of the unfortunate. It proclaims marvelous rights: freedom of thought, freedom to propagate ideas, freedom of work... But these rights are mere luxuries for the favored ones of fortune. The poor,. in a Liberal regime, may not be bludgeoned into working; but they are starved out. The isolated workman, possessed of every sort of right on paper, has to choose between dying of starvation and accepting the terms the capitalist offers him, however hard they may be. Under the Liberal system the cruel irony could be seen of men and women working themselves to skeletons, twelve hours a day, for a miserable wage, and yet being assured by the law that they were "free" men and women. ***New Light in Spain, May 1934.***

106. When in March 1762 a man of ill omen called Jean Jacques Rousseau published The Social Contract, political truth ceased to be a permanent entity. Previously, in ages that were more profound, States, which were the executors of historic missions, had inscribes upon their brows, and even upon the stars, the words Justice and Truth Jean Jacques Rousseau came to tell us that justice and truth were not permanent categories of reason, but that they were, at any given moment, decisions of the will. ***Speech, Madrid, 29-10-33.***

107. The Geneva philosopher is a sickly man, delicate and refined; he is a philosopher who, as Spengler tells us happens to all Romantics—and this man was by now a direct precursor of Romanticism—, was fatigued by the feel of

living in too healthy, too virile and too robust a society. He was crushed by the weight of such a fully adult society, and felt as it were constrained to leave it, to return to nature, to free himself from discipline, harmony and rule. This yearning for Nature is the keynote of all his writings: the return to freedom. The most famous of his books whose influence was to last throughout the 19th century and only began to lose its grip in practically our own times., does not, as you have so often read, begin absolutely, but it almost does, with a sentence which is a sigh. It reads: "Man is born free, and finds himself everywhere in fetters". This philosopher, as you are all aware, was called Jean Jacques Rousseau; the book was called The Social Contract.

The Social Contract seeks to deny the justification of those authorities received traditionally by reason of either a supposedly divine appointment or one based upon the tradition. He seeks to deny the justification of these powers and to begin the building afresh on the basis of his own nostalgia for freedom. He says: "Man is free: man is free by nature and cannot in any way divest himself of being free. There cannot be any system but that which he accepts of his own free will; his freedom he can never renounce, because it would be equivalent to renouncing his quality of being human. Moreover, if he were to renounce freedom, he would be entering into an agreement void for want of value received in exchange; he cannot but be free and unrenounceably free. Consequently, no form of State can possibly arise in opposition to the free wills of those that make up a society; the origin of political societies must have been Contract. This contract, the aggregate of these wills, engenders a higher Will, a will which is not the sum, total of the others, but self-subsistent, It is a different ego, superior and indifferent to the personalities that produced it by their presence. Very well: this sovereign will, this will now

detached from the other wills, is the only one that may legislate: this is the only one that may impose itself on men without men's having any claim against it, because if they turned against it, they would be turning against themselves. This sovereign will can neither err nor seek the evil of its subjects." ***Lecture, Madrid, 9-4-35.***

108. Jean Jacques Rousseau supposed that the agglomeration of all of us who live as a nation possesses a higher soul, one belonging to a hierarchy different from that of each of our own souls, and that this higher ego is endowed with an infallible will, able at any instant to define justice and injustice, good and evil. And as this collective will, this sovereign will, is expressed by means of suffrage alone—a majority conjecture that triumphs over the minority one in the matter of divining what the higher will may be—the eventual result was that suffrage, that farce of little paper slips going into a glass ballot-box, possessed the power of telling us at any moment if God existed or not, if, the truth was true or untrue, and if our country ought to continue or if on the other hand it was better that it should commit suicide. ***Speech, Madrid, 29-10-33.***

109. The Revolution finds the principles of Rousseau already developed, and adopts them. In the Constitution of 1789, in that of '91, in that of '93, in that of the 3rd year, in that of the 8th year, the principle of national sovereignty is formulated almost in the same words used by Rousseau: "The principle of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation. No corporation and no individual can exercise authority which does not emanate expressly therefrom." Do not imagine that the mere declaration of this gives rise to universal suffrage at the same time. It is only in one of the French revolutionary constitutions, that of 1793, that this principle got applied and this suffrage established. In the rest it did not; in the rest, suffrage is restricted, and in that

of the 8th year it even disappears; but the principle is always formulated in the words: "All sovereignty resides essentially in the Nation." Nevertheless, there is something in the revolutionary Constitutions that was not in the Social Contract, and this is the declaration of the Rights of Man. I said just now that Rousseau did not allow the individual to reserve to himself anything as against that sovereign will, that sovereign ego constituted by the national will. Rousseau did not allow this; the revolutionary Constitutions did. But it was Rousseau who was right. The time was to come when the power of the Assemblies became so great that in reality the power of the single man disappeared, and it was illusory for any kind of rights that the individual had reserved to himself to seek to prevail against that power. ***Lecture, Madrid, 9-4-35.***

110. As the Liberal State was a faithful servant of this doctrine, it gradually constituted itself as no longer the resolute executor of the country's destinies but as a spectator of electoral struggles. For the Liberal State the only important thing was that there should be, seated at the voting tables, a certain number of gentlemen; that the elections should begin at eight o'clock and end at four; and that the ballot-boxes should not be broken. Whereas being broken is the noblest destiny of any ballot-box. Thereafter, to observe with calm respect what should issue forth from the ballot-boxes, as if it had itself no interest therein. In other words, the Liberal rulers did not even believe in their own mission; they did not believe that they themselves were there to fulfill a duty worthy of respect, but that anyone who thought the contrary and set about assailing the State, by fair means or foul, had just as good a right to say so and to do so as the guardians of the State itself had to defend it. Hence arose the democratic system, which is, in the first place, the most ruinous possible system for the squandering

of energy. A man endowed with gifts for the high function of governing, which is perhaps the noblest of all human functions, was obliged to devote eighty, ninety or ninety-five per cent of his energies to making good the routine objections of opposition, to the making of election propaganda, to sleeping whole nights on parliamentary benches, to flattering electors, to enduring their impertinences,—because it was from the hands of the electors that he was going to get power; to tolerating humiliation and indignities at the hands of those who, by very reason of the quasi-divine function of governing, were required to obey him; and then, after all this, if he had a few hours left towards daybreak or a few moments stolen from an uneasy repose, it was in this minute period to spare that the man endowed with gifts for governing was able to give serious thought to the substantive functions of Government. Later, there came the loss of the spiritual unity of peoples, for as the system worked by achievement of majorities, every object that the system set itself to gain had to obtain a majority of the votes. And it had to obtain them by stealing them, if necessary, from the other parties; and for this reason it had to have no hesitation in calumniating them, in heaping upon them the vilest obloquies, in deliberately falsifying the truth, in not letting slip a single means of lying and vilification. And thus, fraternity being one of the postulates displayed before our eyes on the title-page of the Liberal State, there has never been a collective condition of life in which wronged men, at enmity one with another, have ever fell themselves less fraternal than in the turbulent and unpleasant life of the Liberal State. Finally, the Liberal State came to involve us in economic slavery, for the workers were told, with tragic sarcasm: “You are free to work as you wish; no-one can compel you to accept these conditions or those; very well then, as we are the rich, we

offer you the conditions we think fit; you, as free citizens, are not obliged to accept them if you do not want to; but you, as poor citizens, if you do not accept the conditions that we impose upon you, will die of starvation, surrounded by the greatest degree of Liberal dignity." ***Speech, Madrid, 29-10-33.***

111. Liberalism (it may be describes thus because the raising of a barrier against tyranny was just what the revolutionary Constitutions aimed at), liberalism has its great period, the one during which it establishes all men as equals before the law, a victory from which there can now be no retrocession. But this victory once achieved, and its great period over, liberalism begins to find itself with nothing to do, and spends its time destroying itself. Naturally enough, what Rousseau termed the sovereign will becomes reduced to the will of the. majority. According to Rousseau, it was the majority—theoretically, through its faculty of divining and expressing the sovereign will, but in practice through its triumph over the dissident minority—which should prevail over all; the achievement of this majority implied that the parties had to enter into conflict so as to win more votes than their rivals; that they had to make propaganda against one another, after first having broken up themselves. In other words, it is precisely under the thesis of supposedly indivisible national sovereignty t: hat opinions are most divided, for as each group seeks that its own will shall be identified with the presumptive sovereign will, the groups grow more and more obliged to define themselves, to adopt distinctive attitudes, to fight, to destroy one another, and to try to win the electoral battles. Thus it comes about that in the decomposition of the liberal system (of course, this transit or march—past, which has been summed up in a few minutes, is a process lasting many years), in this decomposition of the liberal system, the

parties become so broken up that when the regime has reached its last gasp in some parts of Europe, as it did in the Germany of the days just before Hitler, there were no less than thirty-two parties. In Spain, I should not dare to state what they all are, because I myself do not know; indeed, I do not even know the ones represented in Parliament, for apart from all the groups officially represented and those fused into parliamentary blocs, and apart from the Members who, either alone or with one or two bosom friends, parade under a group denomination, there is in our Parliament—as Don Mariano Matesanz is aware—one extraordinarily odd thing: two minorities, each composed of ten gentlemen, and calling themselves Independent Minorities—; but, mark you, not because as being minorities they are independent of the rest, but because each one of their component individuals regards himself as being independent of all the others. So that those who belong to these minorities—to which neither Don Mariano Matesanz nor I belong, since we are independent altogether—; those who belong to these minorities owe their grouping together and their connecting-link to just their characteristic note of not being in agreement. In other words, the only thing they agree about is that they don't agree about anything. And, naturally, apart from this pulverization of parties, or rather, on emerging from this pulverization of parties through the conditional union of one or two parties, we then observe the phenomenon that the majority—half Parliament. plus one Member or half Parliament plus two—feels invested with the full sovereign power of the nation to exploit or crush the rest, not merely of the Members but of the Spanish people; it feels itself to be the holder of a limitless power of self-justification, in other words it feels itself endowed with authority to carry through whatever it thinks fit, without paying any further attention to any kind of personal judgment, juridical or

human, so far as the rest of mankind is concerned.

Jean Jacques Rousseau had foreseen something of this kind, when he said: "Very good; but as the sovereign will is indivisible and moreover incapable of error, if by chance a man even finds himself in conflict with the, sovereign will, it is the man who is in error; and at such a time, when the sovereign will constrains him to submit to it, it is doing nothing but compelling him to be free." Observe the sophistry, and just consider whether, for instance, when we Members of the Republican Parliament, undeniably the representatives of the national sovereignty, increase your taxes or invent some other uncomfortable law to annoy you with, it has ever occurred to you to think that in this act of raising your taxes or annoying you a little more, we have been carrying out the benevolent task of making you a little more free, whether you liked it nor not. ***Lecture, Madrid, 9-4-35.***

CRITIQUE OF ECONOMIC LIBERALISM

(A)

112. **P**roperty, in the sense that we have been hitherto regarding it, is coming to its end. The masses, who to a great extent are right, and who moreover have the power, are going to put paid to it, by peaceful means or by violence. ***Speech, 'Spain and Barbarism', ValIadolid, 3-3-35.***

113. Capital... is an economic instrument which must serve the entire economy, and hence may not be an instrument for the advantage and privilege of the few who have had the good luck to get in first. ***Lecture, Madrid, 9-4-35.***

114. Property is not capital: capital is an economic tool, and as a tool it must be put to the service of the economic whole, not the personal well-being of any one person. The reservoirs of capital should be like the reservoirs of water; not constructed so that one or two people may hold regattas on the surface, but so that the flow of rivers may be regulated and the hydro-electric plants my be driven. ***Speech, 'Spain and Barbarism', Valladolid, 3-3-35.***

115. On the other hand, we have the Scots economist. The Scots economist is another type of man: he is a formal, precise man, simple in his tastes, somewhat Voltairian, rather abstracted and somewhat melancholy. This economist, before he was one, expounded Logic in Glasgow University, and, later, Moral Philosophy. At that time Moral Philosophy was composed of several quite different things: Natural Theology, Ethics, Jurisprudence and Politics. He had even written a book in the year 1759, a book entitled Theory of Moral Feeling; but, in reality, it is not this book that opened the gates of immortality to him; the book that

opened the gates of immortality to him is entitled Investigations Concerning the Wealth of Nations. The Scots economist, as you have all guessed by now, was called Adam Smith. Very well: for Adam Smith, the economic world was a natural community created by the division of labor This division of labor was riot a conscious phenomenon, sought by those who had split up the tasks among themselves it was an unconscious phenomenon, a spontaneous phenomenon. Men had been going on splitting up the work without any common understanding; no-one, in proceeding to make this division, had been guided by the interest of the rest, but merely by utility to himself. Which comes to this, that each one, in seeking this utility to himself, had arrived at harmony with the utility of the rest, and so, in this spontaneous, free society, there appear: First, labor, which is the sole source of wealth; next, barter, that is to say the exchange of the things we produce ourselves for the things produced by others; then, money, which is a merchandise that everyone is certain will be accepted by the test; finally, capital, which is the saving of that which we have not had to spend, the saving of produced wealth in order to be able with it to give life to fresh enterprises. Adam Smith believed that capital was the indispensable condition of industry: capital makes industry possible, to use his own words. But all this happens automatically, as I say: no-one has made any agreement for this to work thus, and nevertheless it works thus and it must word thus. Moreover Adam Smith considers that it ought to work thus, and he is so sure and so pleased with this proof he has been stringing together, that he turns to the State, the Sovereign—he also calls it the sovereign—and he says: “The best thing that you can do is not to interfere with anything. Let things be as they are. The things of economy are very delicate; don’t touch them, and if you don’t touch them they’ll work by

themselves and work well." ***Lecture, Madrid, 9-4-35.***

116. In the same way as Rousseau found that the French Revolution a little later adopted his principles, so Adam Smith had the luck, rarely attained by any writer, of having England also adopt his economic principles. She opened her doors to the free play, of supply and demand, which, according, to Adam Smith, would, without more ado or exertion by anyone else, produce economic equilibrium. And, in fact, economic liberalism too had its heroic age of life, a magnificently heroic age. We must never vilify the fallen, either the physically fallen, the men, who as men, even if they were our enemies merit all the respect due to their human quality and dignity, or the ideologically fallen. Economic liberalism did have a great period, a magnificent period of splendor; to its drive and initiative was due the enormous expansion in production of hitherto unexploited wealth, the accessibility, even to, the lowest income groups, of great inventions and conveniences; while competition and abundance undeniably raised the standard of living of many. Well now, what was going to bring economic liberalism to its death was the fact that very soon it was to give birth, as its own child, to that tremendous phenomenon, perhaps the most tremendous of our epoch, which is known as capitalism; and from now on I think we are no longer, relating ancient history. I should like us once and for all to be clear with ourselves on the matter of words. When we speak of capitalism, we are not referring to private property; the two things are not only different, but one might almost describe them as opposed. one of the effects of capitalism was just the annihilation, almost entirely, of private property in its traditional forms. This is reasonably clear in everyone's mind, but it may not be superfluous for me to devote a few words of further explanation to the subject. Capitalism is the transformation, more or less

rapidly, of what is the direct link between a man and his goods, into an instrument of power. The property of former times, the property of the craftsman, of the small producer, of the small trader, is as it were a projection of the individual upon his goods. He is their proprietor in so far as he is able to have these goods, use them, enjoy them, exchange them; if you like, it is practically in those words that the conception of property has resided, for centuries, in Roman Law. But in proportion as capitalism grows more perfect and complicated, you will observe how the relationship between a man and his goods becomes more distant, and how a series of technical instruments of domination begins to come between them. What was the direct, human, elementary projection of relationship between a man and his goods gets more involved: symbols begin to be introduces which cover the representation of a property-relationship, but they are symbols that more and more tend to replace the living presence of the man; and when capitalism reaches its final stage of perfection, the real proprietor of the former property is no longer a man, nor a group of men, but an abstraction represented by slips of paper; this is the case in what is called the anonymous company. The anonymous company is the real proprietor of a whole heap of legal rights, and up to such a point has it dehumanized itself, to such a pitch is it indifferent to the human proprietor of those rights, that the exchange of shares by their holders has no effect whatsoever upon the juridical organization or the functioning of the company as a whole. Thus this great capital, this technical capital, this capital which attains huge proportions, not only has nothing to do, as I said, with property in the elementary human sense of the word, but is hostile to it. That is why on many occasions, when I see how employers and workmen, for instance, reach the stage of violent conflict, even to the

point of killing one another in the streets, even to the point of falling victims to outrages that express a savage hatred past all repair, I think to myself that neither side is aware that they are protagonists in an economic struggle, certainly, but one in which nine times out of ten both lots of them are on the same side. The other side, opposed to both employers and workmen, is the power of capitalism, the technique of finance-capitalism. If this is not true, then tell me, you who have far more experience than I have in such things:—how often have you had to go to the great credit houses to ask for economic aid, well aware that they charge you interest at the rate of 7 or 8 per cent, and equally well aware that this money they lend you does not belong to the institution that is lending it, but belongs to those who have deposited it and who are receiving 1,5 or 2 per cent interest themselves? This huge difference that they charge you for passing the money from one hand to another weighs jointly upon you and your workmen, who maybe are even now waiting round a corner to kill you. It is this finance-capital, then, which has been traveling towards its own collapse in recent decades. Note that its collapse takes place in two ways: first, from the social point of view (as indeed was almost to be expected), and secondly, from the point of view of capitalist technique itself, as we are shortly about to show. From the social point of view you will see that I am going to find myself quite involuntarily in agreement on more than one point with the criticism made by Karl Marx. As in fact all of us, now that we have flung ourselves into politics, have to speak of him constantly; as we have all of us had to declare ourselves Marxists or anti-Marxists. Karl Marx appears to some people—naturally not to any of you—as a sort of Utopia-spinner. We have even seen in print the expression “the Utopian dreams of Karl Marx”. You are only too well aware that if there has been one man in the world

who was not a dreamer, that man was Karl Marx. The one thing his implacable spirit did was to plant himself down before the living reality of the British economic organization of the Manchester factories, and deduce that within that economic structure there were at work a number of constant factors which would end by destroying it. This is what Karl Marx said in a book of appalling bulk, which he was not able to complete within his lifetime, but a book, to tell the truth, as interesting as it is bulky; a book of the most closely-reasoned dialectic and of extraordinary ingenuity; a book, as I say, of pure criticism, in which, after prophesying that the society based on this system would end by destroying itself, he did not even take the trouble to say when or in what form its destruction was to come upon it. He did no more than say: Given such and such premises, I deduce that this is going to end badly; and then he died, even before publishing volumes two and three of his work, and he went to the other world (I dare not say to hell as that would be a rash judgment), without the slightest suspicion of the fact that one day a Spanish anti-Marxist was to arise who would range him among the poets. This Karl Marx long since augured the social collapse of capitalism which I am discussing with you now. He saw that the following things at least were going to occur: first, the accumulation of capital, which cannot fail to be produced by large-scale industry. Small-scale industry worked with practically two ingredients alone: labor and raw material. In periods of crisis, these two things were easy to reduce: less raw material was bought, the number of hands employed was reduced, and production was roughly equated to the market's demands. But large-scale industry comes into being, and large-scale industry, apart from that element which Marx himself calls variable capital, employs a vast part of its reserves in fixed capital—a vast part, far exceeding

the value of the raw materials and wages of labor; and it sets up great installations of machinery which cannot be instantaneously reduced. Hence, if production is to repay this vast concentration of dead capital, there is nothing this type of industry can do but produce on an enormous scale, as it does; and as it produces cheaper by dint of increasing the volume of production, it invades the small producers domain, ruining them one by one, and ends by absorbing them all.

This law of accumulation of capital was predicted by Marx, and although some say it has not been fulfilled, we are beginning to see that it has, for Europe and the world are full of trusts, huge producers federations and other things that you know more about than I do, like these magnificent one-price stores, which can allow themselves the luxury of selling at dumping: mates as they know you cannot stand more than a few months competition with them, whereas they, on the contrary, by balancing some establishments against others and some branches against others, can fold their arms and await your complete annihilation. The second phenomenon that supervenes is proletarianization. Craftsmen displaced from their positions, craftsmen who have been the owners of their own means of production and who naturally have had to sell this as it is now useless to them, as also small manufacturers and small traders, continue to get economically crushed by this huge, colossal, irresistible advance of big capital, and end by becoming incorporated in the proletaries, and proletarianized. Marx describes this in remarkably dramatic terms and he says that these men, after selling their products, selling the means they had of manufacturing their products, and selling their houses, have now nothing left to sell, and they then realize that they themselves can be a form of merchandise, their very labor can he a form of

merchandise, and they rush to the market to hire themselves out in temporary slavery. This phenomenon, then, the proletarianization of vast masses, and their conglomeration round city factories, is another symptom of the social bankruptcy of capitalism. Yet there is still another to be produced, and that is unemployment. In the first days of the introduction of machinery, the workmen resisted its introduction into the workshops. They reckoned that these machines, which could do the work of twenty, a hundred, or four hundred workmen, were going to displace them. As those were the days of faith in "indefinite progress", the economist of the day said with a smile: "These ignorant working men do not realize that what this is going to do is to increase production, develop trade, provide a greater volume of business; there will be room for machines and for men." But it proved that there was not, for in many parts machines have displaced almost the whole of the men, to the most exorbitant degree. For example, in the Czechoslovakian bottle-production—these data occur to my mind—in which 8,000 workmen were employed, not in 1880 but in 1920, there are at this moment only 1,000 employed, and the production of bottles has nevertheless increased.

The displacement of men by machines is not accompanied by even the poetical compensation attributed to the machine in former times, that compensation which consisted in relieving men of the heavy burden of labor. It was said: "No the machines will do our work, the ma, chines will free us from our toil." This poetical compensation does not exist, for what the machines have done has not been to reduce the men's working day, but, while maintaining the working day more or less unchanged—for the reduction in working hours is due to different causes—to displace all the surplus men. Nor has it had the compensation of involving an increase in wages. It is clear that workmen's wages have increased; but

here again we must repeat everything truthfully just as we find it in the statistics. In the prosperity period in the United States, from 1992 to 1939, do you know how much the total volume of wages paid to workmen went up? Well, it went up 5 per cent. And do you know how much dividends on capital went up during the same period? Well, it was eighty-six per cent. Tell me if that is a fair way of sharing the advantages of mechanization!

But it was predictable that capitalism should have this social collapse. What was less predictable was that it should also have a technical collapse, which is perhaps what is bringing its position to such desperate straits. For instance: periodic crises have been a phenomenon produced by large-scale industry, and produced by exactly the same cause I mentioned before, when I dealt with the accumulation of capital. The irrecoverable expenditure of the original installation is dead-weight expenditure which can in no case be reduced as the market shrinks. Overproduction, the overproduction on a violent scale of which I spoke before, ends by saturating the markets. Then under consumption is produced, and the market absorbs less than the factories are delivering to it. If the structure of the former small-scale economic system had been preserved, production would decline in proportion to demand by means of a diminution in the intake of raw materials and labor; but as this cannot be done in the case of large-scale industry, since it has this vast fixed capital, large-scale industry is ruined; that is to say, technically large-scale industry has to face periods of worse crisis than small This is the first collapse of its erstwhile pride. Afterward, however, one of the most pleasing and attractive notes of the heroic age of liberal capitalism fails also: that pride of its earliest days, which said: “I have no need whatsoever of public assistance, nay, I request the public authorities to leave me in peace and not

to interfere in my affairs." In a very short space of time capitalism bows its head in this domain also, and as soon as the periods of crisis arrive it has recourse to public assistance, and so we have seen how the most powerful concerns have resorted to the benevolence of the State, either to gain tariff protection or to obtain financial support. In other words, to quote a writer hostile to the capitalist system, the capitalism which is so haughty and so refractory in the matter of a possible socialization of its profits, is the first to beg, when things are going badly, for the socialization of its losses. Finally, another advantage of free exchange and liberal economics consisted in the stimulation of competition. It was said—"By competing in a open market, all producers will be continually perfecting their products, and the position of those who buy them will get better and better." But large-scale capitalism has automatically eliminated competition by placing all production in the hands of a few powerful concerns.

Thus have come about all the results we have seen: crisis, proletarianization, paralysis, closing of factories, the huge array of proletarians without employment, the European war, the post-war days—and man, who aspired to live within a liberal economic and political system and under liberal principles that filled such a political and economic life with substance and hope, came in the end to find himself reduced to this appalling state. Formerly he was a craftsman or a small manufacturer, perhaps a member of some privileged corporation, or a citizen of a powerful Municipality. Today he is none of these. Man has been gradually stripped of all his attributes, he has been left chemically pure in his condition of individual; he has nothing now, he has only day and night; he has not even a piece of land of his own to set his foot on, or a house to lodge in; the citizenship of old, complete, human, integral, and full, has been reduced to

these two pitiable things: a number on the electoral roll and a number in the queue at the factory gates. And then look at the double prospect for Europe: on the one hand, a nearness of the possibility of war: Europe, despairing, out of gear, nerve-racked, may well rush into another war. And on the other hand, the attraction of Russia, the attraction of Asia, for you should not forget the Asiatic ingredient in what is called Russian Communism, in which there is as much or more influence typically anarchistic and Asiatic as there is of Germanic Marxian influence. Lenin proclaimed, as the last stage in the regime he sought to implant—he proclaimed it in the book he published shortly before the triumph of the Russian revolution—that in the end there would come about a Stateless and classless society. This last stage had all the characteristics of the anarchism of Bakunin and Kropotlkin; but to reach this stage it was necessary to pass through another most grievous and Marxian one, the dictatorship of the proletarians, and Lenin, with extraordinarily cynical irony, observed: "This stage will not be free or just. The State's mission is to oppress; all States oppress; the working-class State too will have to be an oppressor. What occurs is that it will be oppressing the recently expropriated class, the class that hitherto oppressed it. The State will not be free or just. And, moreover, the transition to the final stage, that venturesome stage of communist anarchism, will come we know not when". That time is one that it has not yet reached yet; probably it never will reach it. To a European consciousness, to the consciousness of a European bourgeoisie or proletarians, this is a matter for dread and for despair. True, what they have reached in that country is dissolution in multiplicity of number, and oppression beneath the iron heel of the State. But the despairing European proletarians, which can find, no explanation for its own existence in Europe, looks on the Russian thing as a

myth, as a remote possibility of liberation. ***Ibid.***

(C)

117. Note how far the final decay of political and economic liberalism has brought us: it has presented huge European masses with this frightful dilemma: either a fresh war, which will be the suicide of Europe, or else Communism, which will mean handing Europe over to Asia. ***Ibid.***

CRITIQUE OF MARXISM

118. **L**iberalism, whilst writing marvelous Declarations of Rights on a piece of paper which practically nobody reads—among other reasons, because the people were not even taught to read—; whilst Liberalism was writing these declarations, it was making us spectators of the most inhuman sight ever witnessed—in the greatest cities of Europe, in capitals of States with the finest liberal institutions, human beings, brothers of ours, were being huddled together in formless, horrifying black or red houses, shackled by want and by the tuberculosis and anemia of hungry children, and enduring every so often the sarcasm of being told that they were free and sovereign to boot. ***Speech, Valladolid, 4-3-34.***

119. Can a cruder form of existence be conceived than that of the proletarians, living perhaps for twenty years by making the same screw in the same immense factory-nave, without ever seeing the complete assembly of which that screw forms part, and with no other link to bind them to the factory than the inhuman frigidity of the payroll? ***Tradition and Revolution, August 1935.***

120. The whole of this spectacle of the crisis of capitalism which we are witnessing was prophesied by one figure—in part a grim, in part a fascinating one—the figure of Karl Marx. Today everybody round here, talks about being Marxist or anti-Marxist. Now I am asking you, in the same strict sense, like an examination of conscience, that I am putting into my own words: What is the meaning of being an anti-Marxist? Does it mean not desiring the fulfillment of Marx's predictions? In that case, we are all in agreement. Or does it mean that Marx was mistaken in his predictions? In. that case the mistake is committed by those who impute the error to him. ***Speech, Madrid, 19-5-35.***

121. For this reason Socialism was bound to be born, and its birth was justified (we are not people who shrink from any truth). The working men had to defend themselves against that system, which gave them promises of rights, but was not at any pains to provide them with a decent life. But today Socialism, which was a legitimate reaction against that Liberal enslavement, has gone astray, because it has adopted, first, the materialist interpretation of life and history; secondly, an attitude of revenge; thirdly, the enunciation of the class-struggle dogma. Socialism, above all the socialism constructed in the passionless frigidity of their drawing-rooms by the Socialist apostles in whom the poor working men believed, and who have been displayed to our eyes for what they really were by Alfonso García Valdecasas; Socialism, thus understood, sees nothing in history but the play of economic forces; everything spiritual is suppressed, religion is the opium of the people, patriotism is a myth for the exploitation of the under-dog; Socialism says all this. Nothing exists but production and economic organization Workmen, therefore, must wring their souls well out, lest the least drop of spirituality should remain within them. Socialism does not aspire to re-establish a social justice that has broken down through the faulty functioning of the Liberal State; rather, it aims at reprisal. It aspires to attain a point so many degrees higher in injustice, the higher the injustice of the Liberal system has risen. Finally, Socialism proclaims the monstrous dogma of class warfare; it proclaims the dogma that warfare between classes is indispensable and is produced naturally in life, because there is no possibility of there ever being any appeasing agent. So Socialism, which started out as a just critique of economic liberalism, has brought us, by a different route, the same fruits as economic liberalism: disunity, hatred, separation, forgetfulness of every bond of

brotherhood and solidarity between men. ***Speech, Madrid, 29-10-33.***

122. The class struggle had a just motive, and Socialism at the beginning was in the right; there is no purpose in denying this. What has happened is that instead of pursuing its original path of seeking after social justice among men. Socialism has turned into a mere doctrine, and one of the chilliest frigidity, and it has no concern, great or small, for the liberation of working men. There are working men going about here full of pride in themselves and calling themselves Marxists. Many streets in many Spanish towns have now been dedicated to Karl Marx; but Karl Marx was a German Jew who sat in his study and watched, with horrible impassivity, the most dramatic happenings of his age. He was a German Jew who, with the British factories in Manchester before his eyes, and in the middle of formulating inexorable laws about the. accumulation of capital, in the middle of formulating inexorable laws about production and about the interests of employers and workmen, was all the time writing letters to his friend Friedrich Engels, telling him the workers were a mob and a rabble, which need not be bothered with except in so far as they might serve to test out his doctrines.

Socialism stopped being a movement for the redemption of men, and came to be, as I say, a remorseless doctrine, and instead of seeking to reestablish, a system of justice, sought to achieve injustice,—by way of reprisal, to the same extent as bourgeois injustice had reached in its own system of organization In addition, however, it set up the class struggle as something that would never cease, and it further declared that history is to be interprets materialistically; in other words, that for the explanation of history none but economic phenomena count. Thus, when Marxism culminates in an organization such as the Russian, children

in schools are told that Religion is the opium of the people, that "Patria" is a word invented for purposes of oppression, and that even chastity and the love of parents for their children are bourgeois prejudices to be extirpated at all costs.

This is what Socialism has come to mean. Do you think that if working people knew this they would feel attracted by anything like this terrifying, horrible, inhuman thing conceived by the brain of that Jew who called himself Karl Marx? ***Speech, Valladolid, 4-3-34.***

123. On dehumanizing itself in the inhospitable mind of Marx, Socialism turned into a crude and frigid doctrine of strife. Since that day it has not aimed at social justice; it aims at paying off an old score of hate, by imposing upon the tyrants of yesterday—the bourgeoisie—a dictatorship of the proletariat. ***New Light in Spain, May 1934.***

124. Marx's prophecies are being fulfilled faster or slower, but inexorably. We are moving towards the concentration of capital; we are moving towards the proletarianization of the masses; and we are moving, last of all, towards the social revolution, which will have a very severe period of Communist dictatorship. And it is this Communist dictatorship that we are bound to shrink from in horror as Europeans, Westerners, and Christians, for this indeed is an appalling negation of man; this is indeed the absorption of man into a vast amorphous mass, in which all individuality is lost and the corporeal vesture of each individual immortal soul is weakened and dissolved. Note well that this is why we are anti-Marxists: we are anti-Marxists because it horrifies us, as it horrifies every Westerner, whether employer or proletarian, this being like some creature of the lower animal life in an ant heap. And it horrifies us because we know something of it from capitalism; capitalism too is international and materialistic. That is why we want neither

the one nor the other; that is why we want to avoid the fulfillment of Karl Marx's predictions—because we believe his assertions. But what we want we want resolutely; not like those anti-Marxist parties walking about the place who think that the inexorable fulfillment of economic and historical laws can be whittled down by saying a few kind words to the workers and sending them little knitted jackets for their children. ***Speech, Madrid, 19-5-35.***

125. If the Socialist revolution were nothing more than the setting up of a new order in the economic field, we should not be alarmed. The fact is that the Socialist revolution is something far deeper. It is the victory of the materialist interpretation of life and history; it is the violent substitution of irreligion for religion; the substitution of the closed and embittered Class for the Patria; the grouping of men by classes and not the grouping of men of all classes within the Patria which is common to them all; it is the replacement of individual freedom by an iron subjection to a State which not only regulates our labor, as in an ant heap, but also implacably regulates our recreation. It is all that. It is the sweeping advent of an order that annihilates western Christian civilization; it is the sign that marks the close of a civilization which we, brought up as we are in its essential values, decline to recognize as doomed. ***Speech, Madrid, 2-2-36.***

126. Yesterday morning I was definitely described as a Bolshevik… What conception of the Bolsheviks can my detractors have formed? Do they think that Bolshevism consists, above everything else, in cutting up landed estates and putting back upon them a people that has starved for centuries? If so, they are mistaken. Bolshevism is at heart a materialistic attitude towards the world. Bolshevism may be able to resign itself to failure in its attempts at collectivized farming, but it will never make concessions in that which of

paramount importance: the uprooting of all religion from the people, the destruction of the family cell, the materialization of existence. He who starts from a merely economic interpretation of history is. on the way towards Bolshevism. Hence anti-Bolshevism is exactly the position of those who regard the world beneath the sign of spiritual things. These two attitudes, not calling themselves Bolshevism or anti-Bolshevism, have always been in existence. Bolshevik, everyone who aims at winning material advantages for himself and his own set, come what may. Anti-Bolshevik, he who is prepared to go without material enjoyments in order to maintain spiritual values. The old nobles who pledged life and property to the service of Religion, King, and Country, were the negation of Bolshevism. Those of us today who, in face of a wheezing capitalist system, sacrifice comforts and profits in order to bring about a reformation of the world without smashing the things of the spirit, are the negation of Bolshevism. It may be that our less vituperated labors will succeed in consolidating some centuries of life that will be less luxurious for the elect but will not be passed beneath the sign of savagery and blasphemy. On the other hand, those who anchor themselves to the endless enjoyment of unearned wealth, those who deem it more important and more urgent to satisfy their uttermost wish for superfluities than to relieve the hunger of a whole people—they, the materialistic—interpreters of the world, are the real Bolsheviks. And it is a Bolshevism with a horrible refinement added: the Bolshevism of the privileged. ***Remarks by a Bolshevik, 'A B C', 31-7-35.***

SPANISH LIBERALISM

(A)

127. **I**t might be said that Liberalism, outside Spain, had never been more than an "Intellectual", a sort of joke during times of ease. France, for example, who did most to put Liberalism into circulation, takes good care to stow it in the cellar when things begin to look serious. In France one does not play tricks with the police (established by Napoleon), or with the law (with the guillotina and Devil's Island at its disposal), or with the Patrie (furnished with inexorable Courts-Martial). Liberalism provides a subject of conversation, and the toleration of superficial license ***'Libertad', Valladolid, 22-10-34.***

128. In actual fact, our political liberalism and our economic liberalism have been almost spared the trouble of decaying, because they have barely at any time—existed. You already know what political liberalism meant. Elections, until quite recent times, were arranged in the Ministry for Home Affairs, and there were even a large number of Spaniards who congratulated themselves that this was so. One of the most brilliant of Spaniards, Angel Ganivet, back in the year 1887, said more or less this: "Fortunately, we have in Spain one admirable institution, namely the encasillado system (*)". This avoids the holding of elections, for on the day when election are held, the results will be very serious. Obviously, in order to gain the support of the masses, very crude and easily comprehended ideas must be put into circulation, because difficult ideas cannot be brought home to a multitudes and as it will then be the 1 case that the best gifted men will not feel very eager to walk about the streets shaking hands with the worthy electors and talking fatuosities to them, it will end up in the triumph of those from whom fatuosities proceed as a natural and

typical characteristic." Some years later—I think it was in 1893—recalcitrant and tenacious as ever of his anti-democratic attitude, he reached the point of saying: "I am an enthusiastic admirer of universal suffrage, on one condition-that nobody votes." And he added; "Let, it not be thought that this is merely a joke in bad taste. I realize that in essence, in principle, all men should take part in their country's affairs of state, just as I find the perfect position for man is to be a paterfamilias; but as the two things are so difficult, I advise all the men I see on the way to contracting marriage not to do so, and those I find prepared for voting, I advise not to vote. Fortunately, the Spanish people has no need of this counsel because it has itself decided not to vote."

Such, indeed has been our political liberalism. And when it stopped being like that, and there were real elections, we have witnessed the sight of a Parliament which, convinced that electoral victory empowered it to do whatever it saw fit, did so indeed, even up to the point of crushing the rest of humanity. But apart from this fluctuation between the liberal regime which had no existence and the Parliament which had too much, we discover that the Spanish State, the Spanish Constitutional State, as we see it delineated in its fundamental charter and ancillary statutes, does not exist; it is a mere joke, a mere simulacrum of existence. The Spanish State does not exist in any one of its most important institutions. ***Lecture, Madrid, 9-4-35.***

(*) Encasillado system: "Lists of candidates affiliated to the Government and allotted electoral constituencies by the latter". Casares's Ideological Dictionary.

129. Spanish capitalism was rickety from the start; from its beginnings it started limping along supported by State aid and tariff assistance. Our economy was more impoverished than almost any other country's and our people lived in greater want than almost any other. ***Speech, Madrid, 19-5-35.***

130. Neither did economic liberalism, in reality, require to fail in Spain, because the best period of economic liberalism, the heroic age of capitalism in its original stages, was never experienced, generally speaking, by Spanish capital at all. Here big business had recourse to State aid from the start; not only did they not reject it, they applied for it, and frequently—as you are well aware and all of you remember—not only obtained State aid, not only set about negotiating protective increases in tariffs, but turned the negotiations themselves into a weapon of offense for the purpose of securing every kind of concession from the Spanish State. ***Lecture, Madrid, 9-4-35.***

131. Our modest economic resources are burdened with the support of an intolerable mass of parasites: bankers who grow rich by lending other people's money at high rates of interest; owners of great estates who soullessly and effortlessly charge vast rents for letting them; directors of large Companies who are ten times better remunerated than those by whose efforts the businesses are run; holders of bonus shares, who in most cases are being recompensed in perpetuity, or are receiving the rewards of intrigue: usurers, money-brokers and middlemen. In order that this thick layer of idlers may be supported, without their contributing the slightest addition to the fruits of other people's toil, managers, industrialists, merchants, farmers fishermen, intellectual workers, artisans and laborers, slaving away with no illusions, are obliged to pare down their scanty means of subsistence. Thus the standard of living of all the producing classes of Spain, the middle class and the common people, is deplorably low; Spain's problem is one of overproduction by herself, for the exploited Spanish Populace barely consumes at all. ***'Arriba', 16-1-36.***

(D)

132. How often have You heard men of the Right say: "We live in a new age, we must set up a strong State, we must harmonize capital and labor, we have to seek a corporative form of existence?" I assure you that none of all that means a thing, it is all mere windbaggery. Harmonizing capital and labor. is as if I were to say: "I am going to harmonize myself with this chair." Capital—I have already taken up some time in distinguishing capital from private property—is an economic instrument which must serve the entire economy, and hence may not be an instrument for the advantage and privilege of the few who had the luck to get in first.

So that when they talk of harmonizing capital and labor, what is rnent is to go on nourishing an insignificant privileged minority upon the exertions of all, the exertions of both workers and employers,—a fine way of solving the social problem and interpreting economic justice! ***Lecture, Madrid, 9-4-35.***

ON THE CORPORATIVE AND OTHER FORMS OF STATE

(A)

133. **T**his stuff about the Corporative State is another piece of windbaggery. Mussolini, who has some idea of what the Corporative State means, made a speech when he inaugurated the twenty-two Corporations a few months ago, and in it he said: "This is no more than a starting-point; it is not a destination." Up to the present moment, Corporative organization means nothing else, approximately and on general lines than this: the workmen form one great federation, the employers form another great federation (the givers of work, as they are called in Italy); and between these two great federations the State erects as it were a sort of connecting-piece. As a provisional solution it is all right; but note carefully that this is a device very similar, on a gigantic scale, to our own Jurados Mixtos. This device has hitherto maintained the relative position of labor unchanged on the same basis as capitalist economics had fashioned for it; the position still obtains in which one gives employment arid the other hires out his own labor in order to live. ***Lecture, Madrid, 9-4-35.***

(B)

134. Totalitarian States do not exist. There are nations that have found dictators of genius, who, have served as substitute for the State: but that is something unique, and in Spain at the present day we shall have to wait for such a genius to arise. Examples Of the so-called Totalitarian States are Germany and Italy, and notice that they are not only not similar, but radically opposed to one another: they start from opposite ends. The German one starts from a people's

capacity for faith, in its racial instinct. The German people is in an auto ecstasy: Germany is living in an ultra-democracy. Rome, in the other hand, is undergoing the experience of possessing a genius of classic mind, who seeks to mold a people from above. The German movement is of Romantic type, its route, the same as ever; thence sprang the Reformation and even the French Revolution, for the Declaration of the Rights of Man is a tracing of the North-American Constitutions, themselves offspring of German Protestant thought.

Neither Social Democracy nor the attempt to set up a Totalitarian State without a genius would suffice to avert the catastrophe. There is another species of salve, of which we in Spain are prodigal: I refer to the confederations, blocks, and alliances. All of them derive from the postulate that the union of several dwarfs is capable of producing a giant. When faced with this type of remedy, precautions must be taken. And let us not allow ourselves to be taken by surprise by their word spinning. Thus, there are movements of that kind which parade Religion as the first plank of their platform, but only stand to attention when material advantage is involved; which in exchange for a modification in the Agrarian Reform, or a morsel on the Clerical assets, would renounce the Crucifix in schools or the abolition of divorce. ***Speech, 'Spain and Barbarism', Valladolid, 3-3-35.***

FASCISM

*(**Note:** These remarks made by Jose Antonio were made prior to his murder by the Republican State; had he lived to see the aid given to Spain by the Fascist government of Italy during the Spanish Civil War, which was begun the day after his execution by firing squad, he would no doubt have taken another attitude toward his Italian peers. HRM)*

135. **T**he announcement that José Antonio Primo de Rivera, Leader of Falange Española de las J.0.N.S., was preparing to attend a certain international Fascist Congress now being held at Montreux is completely false. The Leader of the Falange was asked to be present; but he unequivocally declined the invitation, realizing that the truly national character of the movement he leads is inconsistent with even the semblance of international governance. Moreover, Falange Española de las J.0.N.S. is not a Fascist movement. It has certain coincidences with Fascism in essential points which are of universal validity; but it is daily acquiring a clearer outline of its own, and is convinced that by following this path and no other it will find its most fruitful possibilities of development. ***Note, composed by José Antonio and published in the Spanish Press, 19-12-34.***

136. Fascism is not a system of tactics-violence. It is an idea-unity. Against Marxism, which affirms the class struggle as a dogma, and against Liberalism, which demands the party struggle as its very machinery of operation. Fascism maintains that there is something above party and above class, something whose nature is permanent, transcendent, supreme: the historical unity called the Patria. ***1st Open Letter to Luca de Tena, 'A B C', 22-3-33.***

137. Nothing could be further removed from the idle young man about town, the invited guest of life, in which he fulfills no function whatever, than the citizen of the Fascist

State, for whom no right is recognized except in virtue of the service he performs in his station. If there is anything that truly deserves to be called a State of Workers, it is the Fascist State. ***Ibid.***

138. In a Fascist State it is not the most powerful class or the most numerous party that triumphs: what triumphs is the coordinating principle common to all, the consistent thought of the nation, of which the State is the organ. ***Ibid.***

139. Practically none of the objections to Fascism are raised in good faith. They breathe a concealed desire to find an ideological excuse for laziness or cowardice, if not actually for that which is our own outstanding national defect, namely envy, which is capable of squandering the finest things, provided that a fellow creature is thus deprived of an opportunity to shine. ***Letter to Julián Pemartín, 2-4-33.***

140. While the Lateran Treaty is being signed in Rome, we here are making allegations that Fascism is anti-Catholic; Fascism, which in Italy, after ninety years of Masonic Liberalism, has restored the Crucifix and religious instruction in the schools. I can understand the uneasiness in Protestant countries where a conflict might be possible between the national religious tradition and the Catholic fervor of a minority. But in Spain, what can the exaltation of that which is genuinely national lead to, except the discovery of the Catholic factors in our world mission? ***Ibid.***

GENERAL CRITIQUE OF SPANISH POLITICS

(A)

141. **S**pain has long been living a flat, impoverished life, crushed between two millstones which she has not yet succeeded in breaking. The upper one is the lack of all historical ambition and all historical interest; the nether one is the lack of any deep social justice. The lack of historical interest comes from pessimism of thirty or forty years standing, from our failure to find an interest to bind us all together in an effort on behalf of one and the same cause. The lack of social justice comes from the fact that whereas hitherto let us never cease to bless this state of affairs-we have been spared the horrors of heavy industrialization, that heavy industrialization which has let loose on the world one of the greatest of all crises, yet we must none the less realize that our agricultural life, the life of our small towns and villages, is utterly inhuman and inexcusable. ***Parliament, 6-6-34.***

142. Our Spain found herself on the one hand saved from the world crisis; but on the other, she lay as if oppressed by a crisis of her own; she was "not herself", but the reasons for her being thus uprooted were not those common to the rest of the world. ***Tradition and Revolution, August 1935.***

143... . In this place I may not speak in the name of any filial devotion; I must speak as a member of a generation to whose lot it has fallen to live after the Dictatorship, and which, whether willingly or unwillingly, is bound to pass judgment dry-eyed, and if possible from the elevated standpoint of History, on that historical and political phenomenon denoted by the Dictatorship. ***Parliament, 6-6-34.***

144. The Dictatorship broke up a constitutional order which obtained at the time of its advent, launched the country on a revolutionary process, and unfortunately, was not able to bring this to a conclusion. ***Ibid.***

145… . the Dictatorship, which subverted a constitutional order, was not bound to justify itself by a number of juridical requirements… Not that this means that it did not have to justify itself as a historical and political event. ***Ibid.***

146… . the Dictatorship… failed, tragically and magnificently, because it was unable to carry out its revolutionary task. ***Ibid.***

147. General Primo de Rivera… was not understood by those who imagined they loved him, and was not loved by those who could have understood him. In other words: the intellectuals, who had long been desirous of a revolutionary change in Spain, either from below or from above, had understood him, the revolution could have been achieved. By them, he was not understood; and, on the other hand, the people who loved him were those who for one reason or another had not the slightest desire to achieve any revolution at all. ***Ibid.***

148. The dwarfs have prevailed over the giant. They put nets around his feet and threw him to the ground. Then they tortured him by pinpricks. And he, who was good, sensitive, simple; he, who was not armor plated against the sight of want; he, who because he was very much of a man, very "human", enjoyed and suffered as children do, bowed his head one morning and raised it no more.

Today is the hour of the dwarfs. What revenge they take for the silence to which he reduced them! How they agitate, how they dribble, how they turn indecent somersaults in their envenomed jubilation! Everything must be flung away! Not even a trace to remain of all that he did! And the most ridiculous of all the dwarfs the pedants-smile ironically.

'The Hour of the Dwarfs', 1931.

149. The Dictatorship which was incarnated in a really extraordinary man, in a man (as I am sure no-one will deny) possessing what—no less a person than Ortega y Gasset, one of his most constant opponents-, has describes as a warm heart, accompanied by a finely tempered spirit and the clearest of heads; possessing a power of intuition and divination and an understanding such as new men are endowed with, found itself short of one thing, without which it is impossible for a regime to go ahead: the Dictatorship was short of dialectical grace. This fact, at that time, was perfectly excusable. ***Parliament, 6-6-34.***

(B)

150. The Spanish Monarchy had been a historical executive instrument for the attainment of one of the greatest of universal ends. It had founded and maintained an empire, and it had founded and maintained it precisely through that which constituted its prime virtue: the virtue of representing unity of command. Without unity of command one gets nowhere. But the Monarchy ceased to be a unity of command quite a long time ago. By Philip III, the King no longer ruled; the King, continued to be the outward symbol, but the exercise of power fell into the hands of strong men and of Ministers: of Lerma, of Olivares, of Aranda, of Godoy. When Charles IV came to the throne, the Monarchy was now no more than a shadow without substance. The Monarchy which had started in the camp had retired to the seclusion of the Cortes. The Spanish people is implacable in its realism; the Spanish people, which demands that its patron Saints shall bring rain when it is needed, and turns their images back to front on the altar if they don't bring it; the Spanish people, I repeat, did not understand this shadow of a Monarchy without power. That is why that shadow fell

from its place on April the14th 1931, without even a platoon of the Life Guards putting up a fight. ***Speech, Madrid, 19-5-35.***

151... . in the matter of the Monarchy we cannot allow ourselves to be swayed for a moment either by wishful longing or by cherished ill will. We must confront the problem of the Monarchy with the implacable strictness of men who witness a decisive event in the course of the days that go to make up history. Did the Spanish Monarchy, the ancient, glorious Spanish Monarchy, fall because it had come to the end of its cycle, because its mission was ended; or was the Spanish Monarchy overthrown while it still possessed fertility for the future? . . . We realize, without a shadow of irreverence, without a shadow of ill-will, without a shadow of dislike, indeed many of us with a thousand reasons for feelings of affection; we realize that the Spanish Monarchy had completed its cycle, was left without substance, and fell off like a dead husk, on April 14th 1931. We record its fall with all the emotion it deserves, and we have the highest respect for monarchists who, believing it still capable of a future, urge people to regain it; but we ourselves, much as it grieves us, and although there may rise within some of our hearts some sentimental reserve or some not unworthy regret, we cannot fling the fresh urge of the youth that follows us into the attempt to recover an institution, that we regard as gloriously dead. ***Ibid.***

(C)

152... . the Spanish Republic, whose legitimacy I imagine nobody is going to question, was not born in the municipal elections of April 12th... When the revolutionary Committee announced in the Gazette the fact that they had taken over power, the gentlemen forming this revolutionary Committee signed their decree of April 15th, not as elected councilors

but as members of the revolutionary Committee, which had in a revolutionary manner imposed their authority on the Spanish body politic, as the disproportionate outcome of some municipal elections. ***Parliament, 6-6-34.***

153. Seldom can there have been a more propitious moment, with one chapter concluded, to start a new and a great chapter in our country's history... There was no resentment to be cherished, no justice to be executed, almost no tears to dry. Ahead stretched bright hopes for a whole people: you yourselves remember the rejoicings of April 14th. The rejoicing of April 14th, once again, was the Spanish people's rediscovery of an old longing for their suspended revolution. The Spanish people have been in need of their revolution, and they thought they had got it on the 14th of April 1931; they thought they had got it, because it seemed to them that this date was handing them the promise of two great things that they had long been pining for: first, the restoration of a collective national spirit, and secondly, the erection of a material human basis of common social life among Spaniards. ***Speech Madrid, 19-5-35.***

154. On that April morning there were neither Socialists nor Liberals, neither workers nor bourgeois. We were all one: a multitude full of hope, ready and willing to be molded by the hands of the best men amongst us. How did it come about that we people who for years had been burning with widely diverse ambitions should have fused together in one single state of emotion? What had occurred was simply this: as always when a high spiritual temperature is attained, the vegetable growth of all the programmes had gone up in smoke, the material aspirations had been burned away, and there surged up into view, stronger than any distorted notions, the warm, deep-buried vein that lies within us all, perhaps without our knowing it. There shone forth once again the religious, mystical quality of the great popular

manifestations: it was not a matter of belief in this or in that, in this man or in that man, but of belief in this joyous moment newly arrived. The people no longer trusted to the virtue of this program or that, but to its implicit certainty that it had achieved a miraculous capacity for divination. Dissensions with one another, which until yesterday had seemed like mountain ranges, vanished. You might almost say that we had learned to fly without knowing how, and that from the heights to which we had soared, everything looked tiny. If the 14th of April had held no more than the programs and the men that we knew, little could have been hoped for from it. What mattered was that other something, that gaiety of the 14th of April, which, being as it was so indefinite in its expression, concealed a deeper exactitude than that of all the programs, namely this: a fervid aspiration towards the recovery of Spain's spiritual unity upon a fresh basis of physical existence for the people. Patria and Justice for a much-suffered people. ***"Nation and Work", as Ortega y Gasset later said. Youth Out in the Cold, 'Arriba', 7-11-35.***

155. On April 14th, 1931, occurred a manifestation of popular joy similar to that of September 13rd, 1923. On April 14, a thousand-year-old—institution was overthrown; . . . what so filled with joy those who rejoiced on that date was the hope that once more we had arrived at the moment for the breaking of the upper millstone of lack of ambition and historical mission, and the lower one of lack of social justice. The revolution of April 14 seemed to hold out the promise, as regards the historical orcier, of restoring to Spain a common interest and a common undertaking... And later, as regards the social background, the revolution of April 14 did bring no less, and this indeed was its most far reaching and interesting contribution: the inclusion of the Socialists in a Governmental task that was

not exclusively proletarian. ***Parliament, 6-6-34.***

156. Every time the revival of a common national ambition has apparently been glimpsed, it has quickly been frustrated by the strife of party against party. The last occasion was the 14th of April three years ago. At that time, and at the cost regretted by many of losing a thousand-year-old institution, an opportunity full of joyous collective hope, seemed, in the eyes of nearly all of us, to be arising. ***A Manifesto to Spain. 'F. E.', 26-4-34.***

157. The men of April 14 seemed to be returning to patriotism once more, and returning by the best of all ways: the bitter way of criticism. Therein lay their promise of fruitfulness. ***Speech, Madrid, 19-5-35.***

(D)

158. The first Government of the Republic was born with a tinge of brass-band mediocrity about it; it was a very worthy foretaste of the ones we has after 1933. ***'Arriba', 31-10-35.***

159. In the eyes of history, the men of the 14th of April bear the terrible responsibility of having once again defrauded the Spanish revolution. The men of the 14th of April did not do what the 14th of April promised. S***peech, Madrid, 19-5-35.***

160. We have witnessed the sight of a Parliament which, convinced that electoral victory empowered it to do whatever it saw fit, did so indeed, even up to the point of crushing the rest of humanity. ***Lecture, Madrid, 9-4-35.***

161. (The Republic), instead of laying itself out to better the people's lot by a generous policy, excited it by aggressive propaganda and then left it empty handed no less hungry than before, and angrier. A crude and embittered Marxism prevented the national and the social from being harmonized. Social policy in many respects took on an

insolent frame of mind, an air of conqueror's arrogance. Children in schools began raising the clenched fist, and Socialist workmen began looking about them in the street with the haughtiness of people who, if they tolerate the rest of mankind's existence at all, do so out of pure condescension. A Russian, Asiatic, despotic atmosphere brooded over everything. The dictatorship of the proletariat was beginning to loom ahead. ***Youth Out in the Cold, 'Arriba', 7-11-35.***

162... . there is nothing that corrodes a regime so much as the seeking to elucidate the responsibilities of the preceding regimes. ***Parliament, 6-6-34.***

(E)

163. His (Azaña's) appearance seemed to augur a change of style. Azaña was not a man of the people: he was one of an intellectual minority, a select and disdainful writer, an exacting, cold, precise, original dialectician. From the moment of his appearance before the footlights in the blare of public activity, he had shown himself to be, apparently, free from the general mediocrity and completely contemptuous of applause. He was, undoubtedly, an exceptionally interesting political specimen: a man who had reached the highest post of command practically without compromise or effort, in a singularly auspicious period, and who was preparing the machinery for remoulding the people to his own choice. The old radicals and radical socialists had nothing fresh to reveal; this reserved, mysterious member of the Athenaeum might perhaps, carry out some surprising experiments. What was the reason for Azaña's failure? It may be that some old personal embitterment or other prevailed over his qualifications of statesmanship. It may be that those external and outstanding qualifications of statesmanship were

squandered in futility for lack of any fructifying breath of enthusiasm. "Azaña, or, Infertility" might be the title of an essay to be written upon him. A complete and accurate set of levers and cogwheels but no engine. Azaña gave himself over to a kind of aestheticism in politics which ended up as aestheticism in cruelty. His best pieces of work, those that were not mere aggressive blunderings, were useless filigree. Regarding history as if it were a sort of sport, he would play the game for its own sake and not for the result achieved: he was reminiscent, for example, of those champion runners who do their running not in order to reach a goal since nothing awaits them when they get there but for the sake of the distance covered. His policy was thus a monstrosity. For those unable to appreciate the pedantic aestheticism for which it served as a cloak, it was a kind of diabolical, unintelligible torture. Spain passed through the hands of this dictator as through those of an Asiatic masseur, half fascinated and half tormented; on the day he went out of office, she experienced the relief of someone who can rest once more. ***'Azaña', 'Arriba', 31-10-35.***

164... . the political reproach that can be flung at Señor Azaña, the real and serious charge that can be preferred against Señor Azaña, is this: Señor Azaña had in his hands one of those opportunities which descend on peoples every fifty, sixty, or hundred years; Señor Azaña could without difficulty have carried out the Spanish revolution, the unpostponable and essential Spanish revolution. ***Parliament, 21-3-35.***

165. Azaña will govern again. He will be brought back this time with a revolutionary roar-even if the roaring goes, on around the polls-on the back of the mob who listened to his voice on the 20th of October. Once again he will have in the hollow of his hand the caesarian opportunity of fulfilling —even in the teeth of the shouting masses—the

revolutionary destiny which will have twice elected him. Once again Spain, broad and virginal with all her fears and her hopes, will put him in the way of mastering her secret. Only if he hits upon this will he have a message strong enough to shout above the noise of the Red mob who will have raised him on high. But Azaña will not hit upon the secret: he will give himself over to the mob, which will turn him into, a servile ragamuffin, or else he will try to oppose the mob without possessing the authority for so great a task, and the mob will smash him and will smash Spain as well. ***'Azaña', 'Arriba', 31-10-35.***

166. If at the end of four days or six days after the 6th of October 1934 (*) the Spanish State had come to the conclusion that Don Manuel Azaña was a representative opposed to, and incompatible with, the State itself, and had had him shot by a firing squad, it is quite possible that a legal injustice would have been committed, but it is clear that historical justice would have been served. ***Parliament, 21-3-35.***

(*) The Separatist armed revolts in Catalonia and Asturias, acts of high treason in which Azaña was implicated.-Translator—Torrento.

(F)

167. "Right" and "Left" are barren and incomplete values. The Right, through seeking to ignore the distress and urgent economic demands of the times, end up by depriving their religious and patriotic appeals of all human validity. The Left, through closing the minds of the masses to what is spiritual and national, end up by degrading economic conflict into the savagery of wild beasts. Today two total concepts of the world stand facing one another; whichever wins will finally break off the customary alternation. Either victory will go to the spiritual, Western, Christian, Spanish concept of life with all the service and sacrifice it involves, but with all the individual dignity and national honor it

confers or else victory will go to the materialist and Russian concept of life, which beyond subjecting Spaniards to the savage yoke of a Red Army and a ruthless policy, will disintegrate Spain into local republics. ***Sheet written in the dungeons of Security Police Headquarters, 14-3-36.***

168. Underneath these superficial, terms—Right and Left- lies something deeper hidden. The essence of these attitudes of "right-wing" and "left-wing" might be thus summarized: those of the "right wing" are those who think that the main purpose of the State justifies any individual sacrifice, and that any personal interest should be subordinated to the collective one; those of the "left wing", on the contrary make their primary affirmation that of the individual, and to this all else is subordinated: the paramount thing is his interest, and nothing that assails it is considered legitimate.

But, according to these definitions, would not Communism belong to the Right? For Communism belong to the Right? For Communism subordinates everything to the interest of the State; in no country has there ever existed less freedom than in Russia; in none has there ever been a more oppressive suffocation of the individual by the State. But it is known that the ultimate goal of Communism is a Stateless and classless organization, a perfect anarchy and equality. Such has been declared by the Communist leaders: after a hard stage of dictatorial rigor, an approximately anarchistic collectivism.

In muddled periods like the one we live in, the outlines of these two constants get blurred. So it comes about that the arch-conservatives feel themselves "left-wingers", in other words individualists, when the question of defending their interests arises. Both the Left and the Right get jumbled together and contradict each other, because they have lost sight of the fundamental idea in their respective constants. ***Lecture 'State, Individual, Freedom', 28-3-35.***

169. The Right wishes to preserve the Patria, to preserve unity, to preserve authority; but it ignores this anguish of the man, the individual, the fellow-creature who has nothing to eat. ***Lecture, Madrid, 9-4-35.***

170. The Right is the attempt to perpetuate an economic system even though it be an unjust one, and the Left is at heart the desire to overthrow an economic organization even though in its overthrow many good things should be ruined. ***Speech, Madrid, 29-10-33.***

171. The parties of the Left do see man, but they see him in an uprooted state. The common factor of all the Left elements is concern for the individual as against all historic architecture and all political architecture, as if man and these were contradictory terms. Hence "Leftism" is a solvent, it is corrosive; it is ironical, and endowed though it is with a brilliant assembly of intellects, is nevertheless very good at destruction and seldom much good at construction. ***Lecture, Madrid, 9-4-35.***

172. Both of them (Right and Left) cloak their insufficiency with verbiage. The one lot invoke the Patria without feeling or service at all; the others minimize their disregard and indifference towards the basic problem of every man by formulae which in reality are nothing but meaningless verbal effrontery. ***Ibid.***

(G)

173. It is just as well that the ballot-boxes look so like the drums used in the State Lottery. It is all the same whether one ball rolls into a hole first, or whether one handful of paper slips vanquishes another. The thing is decided by whatever imp is in charge of the hazards of the lottery; that is, any old spirit, good or evil, whether of justice, revenge, or hysteria. Pure chance: a good joke at a candidate's expense can rob him of victory at the eleventh hour. The itch to get

rid of an irritating Government can lead a people to overthrow a thousand things. ***'F. E.', 7-12-33.***

174. Yet there are people who believe that nothing less than the victory of counter revolution has been won in this lottery. A lot of people are feeling very pleased about it. Once more Spain is trying to scar the wound over prematurely, to close the mouth of the wound without clearing up the trouble inside Put simply: she is trying to write off a revolution as settled while the revolution is still alive within, more or less covered over by this fragile skin that has emerged from the ballot-boxes. ***Ibid.***

(H)

175... . as for the Populist(*) school, what would you expect of it? The Populist school is like one of those great German factories in which they produce ersatz substitutes for almost every genuine article in existence. For example, there arises the world phenomenon of Socialism, there arises the bloodthirsty, violent, genuine drive of the Socialist masses. Immediately the Populist school-rich in card indexes and cautious young men, well endowed to be sure with prudence and good breeding, but resembling more than anything else those trained in the most refined Masonic school produces an ersatz Socialism and organizes something calling itself Christian Democracy; against People's: Palaces, it sets People's Palaces; against card-indexes, card-indexes; against social legislation, social legislation of its own. It becomes skilled in writing manifestos on profit-sharing, on workmen's pensions, on a thousand other pretty things. The only thing that happens is that the real workers do not enter these charming Populist cages. Next, Fascism arises in the world with its values of struggle and resurgence and protest of oppressed peoples against adverse conditions, with its train of martyrs and its

hopes of glory. immediately out comes the Populist party and off it goes somewhere, let us say to El Escorial so that nobody will think they are being referred to, and organizes a youth demonstration, with banners, with traveling expenses paid, and with everything that could be desired except the youthful valor, revolutionary and robust, which the young Fascist possessed.

(*) "Populist" school: from "Acción Popular", an organization dependent on the C. E. D. A. (Spanish Confederation of independent Right-Wing Parties); leader, Gil Robles.-Translator.

176. The Right have got nothing from their victory except purely selfish and Conservative results. They have repealed the Agrarian Reform Act, which was a bad law, not in order to substitute a good one for it, but to replace it with a cynical sham which will not give the Spanish peasants any land inside of two centuries. They contemplate undismayed the revival of starvation wages; they devote little more than verbiage to the problem of unemployment... In a word, they stand by with folded arms in face of the survival of a dismal, poverty-stricken, unhealthy, harsh and desperate standard of life. Youth Out in the Cold, ***'Arriba', 7-11-35.***

177. If the Right which was victorious in 1933 had had any message to bring to Spain, the would be Caesar of the April revolution would never have reared his head again. But it would be idle to seek precedents for a clumsier piece of blundering than that committed by the Spanish Right. Instead of obliterating the memory of the enemy by a sound and far reaching piece of work for all to see, they have done nothing but keep the memory of the enemy alive by an endless campaign of crude and ugly defamation, and slumber in a deadly sloth unpardonable at a revolutionary moment like the present. The policy of the second biennium (the stupid one, as it has also been called in these columns) has been one of barren conservation of every obstacle in the way of a brighter outlook for the future. A hybrid policy: not altogether secularist, so as not to strike at the Catholics;

not informed by religious feeling, so as not to annoy the old priest devouring radicals; not generous in the social sphere, so as to keep in with the selfishness of the old county squirearchy; and not unprovided in with an occasional Platonic declaration of the Christian-democrat variety, from the pen of that restless canonist Señor Jimenez. ***'Azaña', 'Arriba', 31-10-35.***

178. A peaceful siesta. That is what is sought, as a maximal program, by three fourths of this Spain whose Constitution has renounced war and whose vitiated palate has lost its ancient taste for the heroic. While Spain sleeps her Siesta. ***'Haz', 19-7-35.***

179. You would think that there was hanging over our country the curse of never having become a clear-cut, established reality, but only an everlasting project of a reality, for ever—in the unstable stage of a rough draft. ***A Manifesto to Spain, 'F. E.', 26-4-34.***

(I)

180. The Left-Wing insolence of the Constituent Parliament was an evil thing; but the complacent young-man-about-town atmosphere of this one, the inane titterings of the present majority in face of Spain's distress is not the sort of thing we were seeking either. We young men, stirred by the urges of the spirit, free from the crude egoism of the old political bosses, what we were longing to see was a Spain great, and just, a Spain with an order and a faith. This is not it, not this. Youth Out in the Cold, ***'Arriba', 7-11-35.***

181. Don't you notice how we are breathing an atmosphere like that of the last days of 1930, when we could all feel the nearness of the gulf ahead? The thing is dying, and it is dying after a whole life of sterility. ***Speech, Madrid. 17-11-35.***

182. When all is said and done, ii there were nothing more

than that going on, I mean the finish of the hastily erected shack, whose pulling down we have all foreseen and many of us have looked forward to, then we should have nothing else to do but to look on. However, it is not just that. It is that on the eve of the collapse we are bound to be appalled by the question. What is going to happen afterwards? ***Ibid.***

183. Local separatism is the decadence that arises at the exact moment when men forget that their Patria is not the obvious physical thing that can be perceived even in the most primitive state of spontaneity. ***Speech, Valladolid, 4-3-34.***

184. Is the loss of unity-territorial, spiritual, historical-less evident here than anywhere else? It is possible to say in any and every case that one should wait until things get worse. But if the matter can be attended to earlier, what purpose is served by waiting till the situation becomes desperate? Especially during the gestation-period of a Socialist dictatorship, organized from within the Government, and calculated, if not mismanaged, to put Spain into a position from which it would be most difficult to retreat.

185. It has been said that autonomy is coming to mean the recognizing of a region's personality; that autonomy is being won precisely by those regions which are most highly differentiated, by the regions showing the most marked local culture. I should be grateful, and I believe Spain would be grateful too, if we all gave some thought to this point. If we grant autonomy as the reward of differentiation, we run the very grave risk that this autonomy may serve as a stimulus towards still deeper differentiation. lf autonomy is to be won by distinguishing oneself by deeply marked characteristics from the rest of the lands of Spain, then in conferring autonomy we run the risk of extending an invitation to deepen these differences between the region and the rest of Spain. Accordingly my opinion is that when

a region applies for autonomy, instead of inquiring whether it possesses more or less strongly marked characteristics, what we ought to enquire into is how strongly rooted in its heart the consciousness of a unity of destiny is; for, if the consciousness of unity if destiny is strongly rooted in the collective soul of a region, little or no danger is incurred by our giving such a region the freedom to organize its internal life in this or that fashion.

186. A region has come of age when it has acquired so strong a consciousness of the unity of its destiny with that of the common Patria that this unity no longer runs any risk from the weakening of administrative ties". '***Spain is Irrevocable', 'F. E.', 19-7-34.***

187. All who have a feeling for Spain say "Long live Catalonia!" And long live all her sister lands in this admirable, indestructible glorious mission, from which we have inherited so many centuries of effort in the name of Spain! ***Parliament, 4-1-34.***

188... . when we use the name of Spain, there is something within us that stirs us, something far above any desire to vex a political regime, and far above any wish to vex a land so noble, so great, so famous and so beloved as the land of Catalonia. ***Ibid.***

189. We must study Catalonia afresh, we must observe Catalonia at our leisure with all affection, with all understanding, but without haste or any preconceived answers, in order to see whether she is truly welded to the sense of unity with the destinies of the nation. ***Ibid., 30-11-34.***

(K)

190. The Catalonian Generalitat was merely one episode in the whole campaign of subversion by which an attempt was made to complete the annihilation of Spain.

191... . there came an attempted coup which, fortunately for the Government and for everyone, appeared in an anti-national guise; it was stupid enough to raise a separatist standard, by which it. provoked an instinctive feeling of repulsion even in the most extreme popular sectors. The proletarian side of the attempt lost caste through this inhibiting cause; for a Spanish man of the people, however much internationalist propaganda he may have got into his head, is always loth to rally to the anti-national banner of separatism. ***Parliament, 25-1-35.***

192. The revolutionaries had the mystical sense-Satanic, if you like, but mystical-of their revolution, and that mystical sense of revolution neither society nor the Government was able to confront with the mystical sense of a duty permanent and binding in all circumstances. I***bid., 6-11-34.***

193. In this their duty of putting down the rebellion instantly, of bringing it not cruelly but cleanly and quickly to an end, the Government has utterly failed. Had this been fulfilled, another task awaited the Government, namely to find out what internal wrongs and lack of consistency or internal justice had permitted a daring minority to plunge into an attempt to seize power by force. The Government ought to have made this examination of conscience, as indeed it should always be made en the day after a victory, so as to find out in what respects the vanquished may have been in the right, and to prevent others from trying to do what the vanquished have failed to achieve. This the Government gets daily further from doing; every day the Government takes less and less account of the reasons for its own existence. ***Ibid., 25-1-35.***

194. The Government knows perfectly well just how much support of every kind rallied round it on the occasion of October 7th. It is not necessary to recall again, as I have recalled more than once already, how it was actually the

youthful impetuosity of the people who are my companions and followers that made the first demonstration in the Puerta del Sol with myself at their head; but, to be precise, it was for the purpose of shouting in the ear of the Government just this: "You have come to a decisive moment; you have a decisive moment before you, from which there can emerge unending consequences for Spain!" ***Ibid.***

195. Neither Spanish State nor Spanish society would have defended themselves vigorously against the revolution, had there not entered into play the factor which always looks unforeseen to us, but which never fails to make its appearance on historic occasions: namely, the hidden genius of Spain, which now as ever is housed within military uniforms, uniforms of tough young soldiers, splendid officers, staunch veterans and ready volunteers, has once again, now as ever, given Spain back her unity and her peace. ***Ibid. 6-11-34.***

196... . this heroic military vein the same as ever has saved us. This heroic military vein must once more regain its paramount position. ***Ibid.***

197. The men of Spain who have been trying to penetrate into the innermost vitals of our living reality in order to destroy it have used Catalonia in their game as a docile pawn to be sacrificed. The ringleaders of the disintegrative, suicidal and barren revolution we have suffered set up the Catalans as propitiatory sacrificial dummies of straw, and turned to account the anarchistic, blood-thirsty, farcical lunacy of a senseless Catalan breakaway, whose compass-course had changed at the last moment from that of common crime to that of embittered and, underhand speculation, charged with the darkest and most erroneous particularism.

198. The victory over the first armed rising of the

Generalidad contained enough historical solidity to last half a century. It was squandered. "Expediency" continued to dictate lukewarm solutions and dilatory negotiations. The brilliant, clean-cut suppression of the rising gave way to an interminable labyrinth of postponement and haggling. Even now, a year later, we have before us what is called the "liquidation of the events of October". The State is giving things back piecemeal, without any guarantee of the preservation of national unity. As for Socialism, instead of being dismantled and replaced by something else, it is being exacerbated on the one hand and allowed to be encouraged on the other. ***Youth Out in the Cold, 'Arriba', 7-11-35.***

199. Squandered opportunities are just those which have always opened the way towards national revolutions. The squandering of Vittorio Veneto led to the March on Rome; the squandering of October 7th may well lead to our National Revolution, in the ranks of which I enlist. ***Parliament, 6-11-34.***

(L)

200. The night before last, two young Falangists were murdered in Seville. Their names are Eduardo Rivas and Jerónimo de la Rosa. Were they "playboys of Fascism"? One was a humble painter; the other, a poor student who had a job with the Railway Company. Had the joined the Falange to defend capitalism? What had they to do with capitalism lf anything, they were rather sufferers from its defects. They joined the Falange because they realized that the whole world is going through a spiritual crisis, that the harmony between the destiny of men and the destiny of communities has broken down. They were not anarchists: they were not in favor of sacrificing the destiny of the community to that of the individual; they were not advocates of any form of. All absorbing totalitarian State, and therefore they did not

wish to see the individual destiny disappear in that of the community. They believed that the way to regain harmony between the individual and the community was this union of the syndical idea with the national, which defends itself, against the lying tongues of those who misrepresent, and against the deaf ears of those who will not hear, in the Falangist system of ideas. So they joined the ranks of the Falange, and they went out into the streets of Seville two nights ago to put up posters advertising a legally permitted newspaper. And while they were posting the bills on a wall they where shot down in cold blood; one fell dead on the pavement, and the other died in hospital a few hours later. ***Parliament, 8-11-35.***

200a. In the streets of Seville disputes between political bands have been settling themselves with firearms for more than a year. The Falange is proud to say that not once has it been the initiator of an attack. The Falange can say that not once has it been found guilty of a single attack. One day a working man belonging to the Falange is killed; the whole city points to the Communist party as the instigator of the murder; not a single Communist headquarters is closed down, not one known Communist is punished, nothing is done.

But a few days later, when two or three attacks on Falangists have occurred, a number of Communists are shot in the doorway of their headquarters. Without any further enquiries, the Governor of Seville puts in prison, not those presumed responsible who have already cleared themselves in Court-but fifteen Falange leaders, fining each of them 5,000 pesetas and closing down every headquarters in the Province. So unjust was the punishment that merely after one conversation with myself the Minister for Home Affairs, as he then was, Don Manuel Portela Valladares, quashed all the fines and ordered all the men to be released.

But again a man is killed, and a few hours later a second, both belonging to the Falange. It would seem a clear case of reprisal; nevertheless, the Communist headquarters are not closed down, not a single Communist is arrested, not a single Communist is fined . . . ***Ibid.***

201... . This state of affairs, which would in any event be... a criminal complicity with one of the parties, and with that party which has always initiated the aggression, becomes far more serious... in the present circumstances. There is being fomented in Spain, with greater and greater violence, an appallingly menacing revolutionary situation, appallingly menacing for the traditionalists, and for you too, the liberal-bourgeois, for the Republicans of the Left. I have in my hand, Mr. Minister for Home Affairs, a non-clandestine publication. It is a book called October, which I was able to buy quite openly. It bears the imprint of the press it. came from; on the flyleaf is stated the publisher who produced it, and as if that were not enough, on the opposite page it is declared to be a book of resolutions and policies of the Socialist Youth groups and issued under the official aegis of their President, our fellow Member of Parliament, Don Carlos Hernández Zancajo. In this book, on page 160, the theses of the Federation of Socialist Youth Groups are printed... they are these: "For the Bolshevization of the Socialist Party. Expulsion of the "reformist". Elimination of "center-party" men from key positions. Abandonment of the Second International. For the transformation of Party" note this "into a centralized system provided with an illegal organization." This is not something stated in a clandestine publication; the proposal to form an illegal organization is announced by a recognized political body in a book that anybody can purchase for three pesetas. For the political unification of the Spanish proletariat in the Socialist Party. For anti militarist propaganda. For the

unification of the syndicalist movement. For the overthrow of the bourgeoisie"-in which you are included and the triumph of the revolution in the form of the proletarian dictatorship... For the rebuilding of the national working-class movement on the lines of the Russian Revolution... The Socialist Youth considers the leader and initiator of this revolutionary resurgence to be Comrade Largo Caballero . . ."

This is the tone of the revolutionary movement that is in preparation; this is the thing, more and more harsh, more and more hostile, more and more stark, that is brewing beneath all these more or less unconvincing coalitions of Socialists with left wing Republicans, this is it: a dictatorship of Asiatic, Russian type, without the least vestige of that sentimental feeling that quickened the working-class movements in their initial stages. This is what is being prepared in Spain, this is the thing that is snarling beneath the indifference of Spain... Therefore I do not demand for these two fallen comrades of mine the mere respect. I should demand towards any fellow-citizen, however near to me, who had been murdered in the street; I demand your admiration and your gratitude that amidst the criminal heedlessness of almost everyone there are humble men in the firing-line, falling one after another, dying one after another, in defense of a Spain that perhaps is not worthy of their sacrifice. ***Ibid.***

(LL)

202... . the declaration, embodied in the Constitution, that Spain renounces war. What does that mean? If it is a mere piece of stupidity with nothing else behind it, that is the author's business. If it means that Spain has the intention of staying neutral in future wars, then that declaration ought to have been followed up by an increase in 1 our land, sea,

and air forces, for a nation with all her flanks exposed and situated in one of the danger spots of Europe cannot decide even on her own neutrality if she is not able to make herself respected. Only the strong can be honorably neutral. I do not know whether the authors of that expression were seeking to impose on us a dishonorable neutrality. ***Speech, Madrid, 19-5-35.***

203. Spain has been carrying out French international policy for four years now, moving in the international orbit of France. That Spain should develop an international policy in agreement with friendly powers is nothing surprising. But in international affairs nations never give without receiving something and France, whose international policy we serve, treats us badly in trade treaties, relegates us to a level of inferiority in Tangier, and arranges the Mediterranean regime behind our backs, as if we ourselves were not a Mediterranean nation; in other words, all we get from serving the French international policy throughout the world is the satisfaction of some pedantic Minister's, or Ambassador's, personal vanity. ***Ibid.***

204... . the politics of the Mediterranean are being calmly arranged at public talks held by a Premier and a Foreign Minister, and it is at a moment like this that we are left-as if we were an island in the Pacific without the least indication that the Government is taking any trouble to claim a seat in the name of Spain in order to have a voice in the organization and polities of the Mediterranean. ***Parliament, 25-1-35.***

205. Once all possibility of a modus vivendi has broken down, the Cortes will have to be dissolved. A general election will mean the handing of the country over to strife between two equal and ruthless factions, the Right and the Left. Who will have right on their side in this strife? To find that out it is necessary to enquire what is the Left, and what

is the Right, in Spain. L***etter to a Spanish Officer, 1935.***

206. The constitutional order now in force can no longer support its own weight. In order to remain alive the State is obliged to have recourse to subterfuges that place it outside the, normal working of its institutions. What we have now is no longer that state of war that has become endemic, with its attendant train of closures, suppression of newspapers, political detentions and all the rest of it; it is the formation of a Government which came to birth under a Parliamentary regime, but would not survive half an hour in Parliament; a Government which, in order to enjoy a fugitive illusion of life, is obliged to keep the Cortes closed up to the maximum time-limit sanctioned by the Constitution. ***Ibid.***

(N)

207. The present trustees of the Popular Front, in compliance with a plan formed abroad, are systematically stripping Spanish life of everything that might put up a resistance to the invasion of the barbarians. ***Letter to the Spanish Armed Forces, written secretly in the Model Prison, Madrid, 4-5-36.***

208. In this respect, the victory of the Popular Front is not good for us. Neither would the victory of the Right have been good. We should have reached such a stage of utilitarian degradation that spiritual values would have tended to become completely suffocated, or, worse still, perverted into mere verbiage, burlesque and sham. This process of degradation was already well advanced by the eve of the elections. Their victory on this occasion would have been the triumph of capitalism in a conspiracy of all its worst aspects. The Falange would have suffered more, spiritually, in such a quagmire of peace than in the stark warfare that confronts us today. ***In Stormy Weather. 1936.***

209. The “watchwords” come from abroad, from Moscow.

See how they prevail among quite different peoples. See how in France, in obedience t Soviet orders, the Popular Front has been transformed to the same model as in Spain. See how-as we are informed by those who know these moves-there has been a truce in this country up to the exact date when the French elections concluded, and how on the very day when disorders in Spain could no longer influence the decision of the French electorate, arson and massacre have broken out anew. ***Letter to the Armed Forces of Spain, 4-5-36.***

210. The "slogans" you have heard in the streets: not only "Long live Russia!" and "Russia, yes! Spain, no!", but even the shameless and monstrous cry of "Death to Spain!" For shouting "Death to Spain!" no one has been punished so far; yet for shouting "Long live Spain! there are hundreds of people in prison. If this appalling truth were not public property, one would not dare to write it for fear of being taken for a liar. ***Ibid.***

211. The "aims of the revolution" are clear enough. The Agrupaci6n Socialista of Madrid, in the official program it has published claims for the different regions and colonies an unlimited right of self-determination, even up to the point of declaring themselves independent. ***Ibid.***

212. The "feeling" of the movement now coming to the fore is fundamentally anti-Spanish. It is hostile to the Patria. It scorns chastity by encouraging the collective prostitution of young working girls at those country festivals were every sort of impurity is practiced; it undermines the family, which has been supplanted in Russia by free love, by collective eating-houses, by facilities for divorce and abortion (haven't you recently heard Spanish girls shouting, "Children, yes! Husbands, no!") and it disowns that sentiment of honor which has always inspired the actions of Spaniards even in the humblest circumstances. Today every

villainy reigns in Spain: men are slain in cowardly fashion, a hundred against one; the truth is falsified by the authorities; defamation is inflicted by filthy libels, and the mouths of the injured parties are stopped so that they cannot defend themselves; the traitor and the informer are rewarded... Is this Spain? Is this people of Spain? You would think we were living in a nightmare, or that the ancient Spanish people—serene, courageous, generous-had been replaced by a frenzied and degenerate plebs, drugged with Communist propaganda pamphlets. Only in the worst moments of the nineteenth century has our people known times like these, and they themselves lacked the acuteness of today, ***Ibid.***

(O)

213. The Army is above all the safeguard of what is permanent; for that reason it ought not to get involved in incidental struggles. But when it, is a permanent element itself that is endangered, when what is in jeopardy is the very permanence of the Patria (which may, for example, even suffer the loss of its own unity, if things take a certain course), the Army has thing for it but to take counsel and make its no choice. If it holds aloof, through a merely outward interpretation of its duty, it runs the risk of finding itself left overnight with nothing to serve. When faced with prospects of a final collapse, the Armed Forces can serve that which is permanent in one way only: by rescuing it with their own arms. ***Letter to a Spanish Officer, 1935.***

214. Can there still be anyone among you, Spanish soldiers and officers, of land, sea and air, who proclaims that the Services are not interested in polities? Such a thing could and should be said when politics pursued their course between one party and another. The sword of the fighting man had no call to settle their conflicts, which were, for their part, thoroughly undistinguished. But today we do not

find ourselves faced with a merely internal conflict. What is at stake is the very existence of Spain as an entity and as a unity. The present peril is precisely equivalent to that of a foreign invasion. And this is no rhetorical figure of speech: the foreignness of the movement that is laying siege to Spain is betrayed by its watchwords, by its slogans, by its aims and by its sentiments. ***Letter to the Armed Forces, 4-5-36.***

215. Soldiers: without the aid of your forces it would be a task of titanic difficulty for us to be victorious in the struggle. If your forces should be hesitant, it is certain the enemy would win. Weigh your awful responsibility. Whether Spain shall continue in being depends upon you. Consider whether this does not oblige you to go over the heads of bought or cowardly leaders, and to rise superior to hesitation and peril The enemy is wary and is banking on your indecision. Daily he gains a few yards of ground. Beware, when the moment comes that cannot be postponed, lest you find yourselves already bound hand and foot by the insidious net that is being woven around you. Shake off its meshes here and now. Here and now form yourselves into the strongest possible union without waiting for the hesitant to join it. Swear by your honor not to leave unanswered the approaching call to arms. ***Ibid.***

215a. Whether you like it or not you men of the Spanish Army, in a period when the Army is the repository of the sol e essentials and practices in which histories permanence is still integrally manifested, there is going to fall to the lot of the Army once again the task of taking the place of a non-existent state. Once the future of Spain is placed in the hands of Army, two diametrically the opposed reefs must be guarded against, either of which is capable of wrecking the enterprise. These two reefs are excessive humility and excessive ambition.

1. Excessive humility.-It is much to be feared that the Army may allot itself the too agent, and modest role of a mere demolition hasten to pass the Government en into other hands. In this case, two equally mistaken solutions can be foreseen:

a) A Government of notabilities, or an assembly of eminent men, chosen for their respective reputations, without regard to the political principles they profess. This would stultify possibilities of the hour. A State is more than an aggregate of so many technical abilities. It is more than a good board of directors; it is the historic instrument for the fulfillment of a people's destiny. Without a clear consciousness of its destiny, a people can not be led. But it is just the power of interpreting that destiny and finding avenues for its accomplishment that constitutes statesmanship. A team of distinguished gentlemen who did not coincide in holding one political faith would amount to no more than a more or less good board of directors, destined to wither away for lack of any popular enthusiasm around them.

b) A coalition Government, or collection of representatives from the various parties that might lend themselves to inclusion in the Government. To the essential sterility of the previous solution, this solution would add that of amounting in practice to nothing but a relapse into party polities; in concrete terms, the polities of the Right, since it is obvious that the parties of the Left would not be willing to participate. In other words, what might have been the beginning of a promising national State would be left once more reduced to the victory of one class, one

group, or one sectional interest. Such would be the perils of an excessive humility.

But the contrary is also to be feared. Let us consider it:

2. Excessive ambition.-I do not mean let us be clear about this excessive personal ambition on the part of Army men, but historical ambition. This would occur if the Army leaders, realizing that a good board of directors is not enough, but that it is essential to arouse the feeling o£ a common task and a national interpretation of a historic moment, should seek to be the arousers of it themselves. In other words, if the Army, who had been executive agents or collaborators in the coup d'état, should set about discovering, on its own account, the doctrine and orientation of the new State. For an attempt of this kind, the Army is not possessed of enough political training. If I were trying, like so many people, to flatter the Army I should without more ado ascribe every conceivable capacity to it. By the fact that I know, what the Army does represent, the vast accumulation of silent, heroic, untarnished virtues of which it is the storehouse, I should think it an indecency to flatter; on the contrary, I deem it only loyal to serve it by an effort at clear thinking. I therefore say these things as I see them the Army, accustomed to regard polities as not its business, possesses an inadequate angle of vision. In its championship of solutions to political problems, it suffers from a blameless simplicity. Hence through lack of doctrinal effectiveness and dialectical appeal it fails to attract popular support and youthful stalwarts. Let us not forget the case of General Primo de Rivera: filled with patriotism, courage and natural intelligence, he did

not succeed in kindling a lasting enthusiasm through want of a stimulating vision of history. His "Patriotic Union", deficient in doctrinal content, stopped short at an ingenuous and well-meaning vagueness.

If Providence once again puts the destiny of our country in the hands of you Army officers, realize that it would be unpardonable to set out on the same road without a goal. Do not forget that anyone who break s up the normal running of a State undertakes the obligation of setting up a new State, and not merely that of restoring a show of order. Remember too that the building of a new State demands ripe and resolute understanding of history and of politics, and not a rash confidence in one's own capacity or power of improvisation. ***Letter to a Spanish Officer, 1935.***

PRACTICAL MANDATES

YOUTH OUT IN THE COLD

216. **F**or several decades we had been listening to defeatist teachings and propaganda, and we had almost reached the stage of losing faith in ourselves. The Spain of those days was the heir of a Spain of weaknesses, of limping indecisions, of picturesque posturings: the Madrid of the Fornos cafe and the "Cuarta de Apolo", of swashbuckling journalists, of those who gaily flaunted their capes while the remains of the Spanish Empire were being lost. We had got accustomed to a life of mediocrity and coarse pretentiousness. ***Parliament, 9-10-34.***

217... . the fact that existence should be like this in Spain, the fact that she should have no historic part to play in the life of the world, and that she should be maintaining, beneath it all, a totally unjust social system, is what makes it certain that Spain still has her revolution pending. ***Ibid.***

218... . when we, the men of our generation, look about us, we find a world in moral ruin; a world split by every kind of differences: and as regards what concerns us most nearly, we find a Spain in moral ruin, a Spain split by every kind of hatred and conflict. ***Speech, Madrid, 29-10-33.***

219... . a younger generation, which at this present time stands aloof from the Ministerial parties and from those of the Opposition alike, is not doing so—as you sometimes say—from an itch to play at being little gentlemen-fascists. Nothing is further from our intentions... . it is doing so because our generation, which has perhaps thirty or forty years of life before it, will not resign itself once again to continuing to live in that flat layer bounded by lack of historic interest on the one hand and lack of social justice on the other. ***Parliament, 6-6-34.***

220… . All of us who made our appearance in the world after cataclysms like that of the Great War, and the Crisis, or after events like the Dictatorship and the Spanish Republic, feel that there lies hidden in Spain something that clamors more insistently every day to be brought up to light… a revolution which has two veins: the vein of a profound social justice, which it is utterly essential to install, and the vein of a deep traditional feeling, springing from a tradition in the very marrow of Spanish bones, which resides, maybe, not quite where many people suppose, and which must at all costs be rejuvenated. ***Ibid., 3-7-34.***

221… . if a generation has a duty to enter politics, it cannot do so equipped with the repertory of the half-dozen phrases that have seen many another generation through its political career. ***Ibid.***

222. As always, and without mental reservation, we are thinking of Spain and of nothing else but Spain, because Spain is something more than a historical circumstance, because Spain can never be something that stands in opposition to the sum total of her lands and to each one among them. ***Ibid. 4-1-34***

223. If they want to preserve the continuity of this melancholy, bedraggled, dismal Spain. which needs a desperate remedy every two years, they need not count on us. That is why we stand alone, because we see that there has got to be a new Spain created, a Spain that can escape from the double grip of hatred and fear by the only way out that is decent and noble, that is, upwards. That is why our slogan "Up with Spain!" has now become more prophetic than ever. We seek an upward way of escape for Spain, for a Spain once more capable of wholly providing her people with the three things our slogan proclaims: Patria, bread, and justice. ***Speech, Madrid, 2-2-36***

224. We need two things: a nation, and social justice. We

shall not have a nation so long as each one of us regards himself as the holder of a separate interest, the interest of a group or a faction. We shall not have social justice so long as each one of the several classes, in a system of conflict, seeks to impose its own domination upon the rest. Therefore, neither Liberalism nor Socialism is capable of providing us with the two things we need. ***'New Light in Spain', May 1934.***

225. Spain needs her revolution; Spain need's a revolution that shall give her back the sense of having something to do in the world, and establish her upon an endurable social foundation... The Spanish social foundation is soaked and riddled with injustice; a great part of the Spanish people are still living at the level of the beasts. The Spanish country, the Spanish nation, needs a complete reorganization of its economy, it needs an entirely new social sense, and it needs to feel itself united in a collective mission to be accomplished. ***Parliament, 21-3-35.***

226... . up to now all revolutions have been incomplete, since none of them has served the national idea of the Patria and the idea of social justice at the same time. We integrate these two things: the Patria and social justice; and resolutely, categorically, upon. those two unalterable principles we seek to make our revolution. ***Speech, Valladolid. 4-3-34.***

227. When confronted with the resolute will to attack, a cold passive intention to resist is not enough suffice. One faith must be opposed by another. Not even in the greatest imperial times, when so much exists that is worthy of preservation, is the passive aim of preserving it sufficient. A nation is always a job to be done, and Spain, is so in a very special way. Either the executrix of a world mission, or the victim of a speedy process of disintegration. Before the Elections, ***'Arriba', 16-1-36.***

228. What is material can be saved by no-one; the thing that matters is that the catastrophe on the material plane shall not wreck the essential values of the spirit too. And these are what we seek to save, cost what it may... ***Speech, 'Spain and Barbarism', Valladolid, 3-3-35.***

229... . someone may ask: "Why introduce politics into the University?" For two reasons: first, because nobody, however much he may specialize, can. detach himself from the common interests that all politics pursue. Secondly, because speaking candidly about politics means avoiding the sin of those who, cloaked in "non-political" hypocrisy, smuggle politics into the realm of learning. ***S.E.U. Lecture, 'Law and Politics', 11-11-35.***

230. (The mission of the youth of Spain is) . . . quite clear: to carry out, itself, the building of a complete and harmonious Spain: by itself, by youth itself which feels and understands these things, without middlemen or trustees. Youth Out in the Cold, ***'Arriba', 7-11-35.***

231. If the service of Spain is something eternal and not to be suborned, against which the conspiracies and pitfalls of the times can be of no avail, then for this highest service—in "~ which the laying down of life itself means little—we must painstakingly draw instruction from every available source. And in order to harvest these lessons, shrewdly Spanish as they are, we ourselves are preaching the rediscovery of the authentic veins in Spain. 232... . we ourselves should be but one party more if we should. start enunciating a program of concrete solutions. Such programs have the advantage of never getting carried » out. On the other hand, when one possesses a fixed feeling in regard to history and life, that feeling itself provides the solutions when faced with concrete facts, just as love tells us in what cases we ought to fight and in what cases we ought to embrace, though a true feeling of love has no sort of ready-made program of

embraces or of strife. ***Speech, Madrid, 29-10-33.***

233. Merely to embark on the loftiest of enterprises will render utterly impossible the engendering of such a state of mind as that which enabled the criminal attempt in Catalonia to take place.

234… . you shall see how we will rebuild the dignity of man, and upon it we will rebuild the dignity of all the institutions which together compose the Patria. ***Speech, Madrid, 19-5-35.***

THE INSTRUMENT OF THE REVOLUTION

235... . **B**y way of remedy they suggested to us, with charming ingenuousness, a pure and simple return to the ancient traditions, as if tradition were a "state" and not a "process", and as if it were easier for peoples than for men to perform the miracle of moving backwards and returning to childhood. Between "the one and the other of these attitudes it occurred to some of us to consider whether it would not be possible to achieve a. synthesis of the two things: revolution, not as an excuse for setting everything rolling, but as a surgical opportunity to reshape everything with a steady pulse, in compliance with a norm; and tradition, not as a remedy, but as a substance; not with a mind to copy what was done by the great ones of the past, but to divine what they would do in our circumstances. ***Tradition and Revolution, August 1935.***

236. As the fruit of this restless reflection on the part of one or two, the Falange was born. I doubt whether any political movement has come into the world by a more austere interior process, more rigorously worked out, and with a more real sacrifice on the part of its founders, to whom—who shall ever know it as well as I do?—few things come harder than having to shout in the streets and to endure the shame of making oneself a public show. ***Ibid.***

237. Our brethren of the J. 0. N. S., directed by Ramiro Ledesma, were the first in opening the difficult breach. They were the first guerrilla band of the new style, they were the cocks of March, crowing inured and scandalous, singing the gracious springtime of the Spain's, that which now gives us everywhere its irresistible budding of green. ***Article 'F.E. & J.0.N.S.', 22-2-34***

238. Our movement... proceeds directly out of the revolution of the 14th of April. The moment of our appearance over Spain was the i4th of April. That date, as you all know, has been looked at from very different points of view: like all historical dates, it has been regarded with a good deal of stupidity and a good deal of ignorance. S***peech, Madrid, 19-5-35.***

239. Here we have, in the earth now, one of our best comrades. He gives us the magnificent lesson of his silence. Others, comfortably, will advise us, from within their houses, to be more aggressive and tougher in reprisals. But Matías Montero did not give advice, or even speak: he contented himself with going out in the street to do his duty, well knowing that what awaited him in the street was probably death.

He knew this because he had been warned in advance. Shortly before his death he said: "I know I am threatened with death, but it makes no difference to me if it is for the good of Spain and of the cause." It was not long before a bullet struck him right in his heart, the crucible of his love for Spain and for the Falange. Comrade Matías Montero Rodriguez! Thank you for your example. May God grant you eternal rest, and deny rest to us until we are able to reap for Spain the harvest your death has sown. ***Spoken at the burial of Matías Montero, 10-2-34.***

240. Another fallen comrade on the altars of Love. He knew how to fulfill a sacred mission within the Falange Española de las J. 0. N. S., an the Marxian lead cut short his life before crossing the threshold of the Patria reborn.

For fighting for love, hate has slain him. Comrade: your sacrifice shall not be in vain! All we who can still raise our arm in salutation over your grave, know how to follow your magnificent example. We all are ready, like you, to come to the supreme sacrifice in order to fulfill our mission. Mission

in the pure sense of the word, the religious sense. Spain, which is not a territory nor a fantasy born of overheated imaginations, but a reality intangible and supreme; Spain, which is the efforts of our brothers, the glorious exploits of our fathers and the fertile blood of our forebears, is threatening to die today through cowardly neglect. And it is we, the national-syndicalists, who are called to come to her aid, to succor her, to help her rise again.

Blessed be the Falange if it leads us to death for Spain! We have always before us that Spain is "one unity of destiny" in the future; let us know how to prove, face to the world and face to the sun, with Spanish pride, that if we are boys in age, we yet are men enough to die and live for Spain in the fulfillment of a holy duty.

I counsel you to close your ears to those people who, now as always, will be piteously lamenting our comrade and may perhaps advise you to go all out for reprisals. I ask you to show them by your behavior now you are able to endure all things, drawing your spirits and courage from the blood of our brothers—that blood which is again becoming the rich fertilizer of a future harvest from Spanish soil—that you may pursue your path undaunted.

Perhaps they will tell you, in insufferably patronizing tones, that you should not stay in our ranks, that you should "take a grown-up man's advice" and give up this "madness". Reply that men are not measured by bodily growth or spoken words: men are to be seen and measured in the field of deeds, of action, which is our field. And if it is true that we are mad, blessed be the madness of this love of ours which leads us to bestow on our native land the most precious thing she has given us: our blood!

Tell them roundly, and make them clearly understand, that they are the ones responsible for our comrade's death, by their selfishness, incompetence and cowardice; that this

life-and-death problem that Spain is confronted with cannot be solved by words: that while they sit in their houses or in cafés "putting Spain to rights", we are out in these streets of Spain which seem destined to be continually watered with the blood of her sons, cruelly and treacherously murdered for the sole crime of possessing hearts—of possessing, above all, the hearts they lack themselves; and, finally, that we had sooner all of us die to the last man, than go on wallowing in infamy and shame.

Once more we find ourselves called to render funeral homage to a fallen comrade. Vile, cowardly, base-born is the man who would now draw back from the front rank: such a one is not worthy to be called a comrade of the dead in this supreme brotherhood of the Falange.

Once more: Falanges! Attention! All, in line of battle, in the van as always and more than ever before. There is one more now among the martyrs of Spain. Jose García Vara: Presente! Arriba España! ***'Arriba', 11-4-35.***

241. We have knowingly chosen for ourselves the hardest road, and with all its difficulties, with all its sacrifices, we have been—able to bring to light one of the heroic veins—for all I know, the only one—that still remained beneath the soil of Spain. A few words, a few material means, have been enough to win the post of honor, in the ranks where men die, for eighteen of our young comrades to whom life offered every promise. We, without means, with this poverty, with these difficulties, are gathering all there is of fertility and value in our Spain. And we want the difficulties to go on, to the end and after the end: we want life to be hard for us before victory and after victory. A few days ago I reminded a small audience of a line from a Romantic poet, who wrote: "I seek not Paradise, but rest." It was a romantic poem of the return to sensuousness; it was blasphemy, but a blasphemy based on a true antithesis: it is certain that

Paradise is not rest. Paradise is opposed to rest. In Paradise no-one lies down: they stand, vertically, like the angels. We, then, who have set upon the road to Paradise the lives of the best among us, seek a Paradise arduous, erect, implacable; a Paradise that never knows repose and has, standing at its gateway on either side, angels with swords. ***Speech, Madrid, 19-5-35.***

242. God did not guide your hand, comrade, when you wrote: "If F.E. goes on in that literary and intellectual tone, it will not be worth risking one's life to sell it." Well then, you yourself, who are now training your mind at the University and dreaming of a better Spain: what would you gladly risk your life for? For a libel-sheet calling Azaña an invert and the Socialist ex-ministers thieves? For a weekly paper in which we were trying to trace the lines of the future in poor, feeble, inexpressive language lacking any promise of things to come?

Maybe if we wrote like that more people might understand us at the outset. Perhaps, too, we might find it easy to stir up lucrative scandal. But then what we should have sold for the single dish of facile success would be no less than the glory of our high engagement… . To make a paper like the "Heraldo" is a simple thing: one need only ensconce oneself in bad taste, stagnate in cafe circles and whet one's effrontery. But Spain has been on the point of receiving shameful burial with "Heraldos" and suchlike for her winding-sheet.

Student comrade: turn against us, on the contrary, if one day you find we have grown careless of the vigor of our style. Be vigilant lest in our pages the clarity of our mental outline should grow dull. But do not give way to the spirit of laziness and coarseness when it tempts you to pay it court. And as for whether it is worth while dying for this, simply bear in mind the lesson of one of our best, Matías Montero,

whom every morning we have to grieve for. Matías Montero risked his life to sell "F. E." and when he was dead and the papers he had in his pockets were gone through, there came to light an article of his, which adorned these pages, in which he did not call Azaña an invert or the Socialists thieves, but spoke of a brighter and better Spain exactly in this very style of ours. ***Letter to a student who complained that 'F. E.' was not tough, 'F. E.', 19-4-34.***

243. Our movement... is not a manner of thinking, it is a manner of being. We must not set before us political construction and architecture alone. We have to adopt, in our entire life, in every one of our actions, an attitude that is human, profound, and entire. This attitude is the spirit of service and sacrifice, the ascetic and military view of life. ***Speech, Madrid, 29-10-33.***

244. Here nobody is anybody, only a piece on the board, a soldier in this task which is ours and Spain's. ***Speech, Valladolid, 4-3-34***

245. There are only two serious ways of life: the religious way and the military (or, if you like, there is only one, for there is no religion that is not a militia, and there is no militia that is not quickened by a religious feeling), and the hour has now come for us to realize that it is by this religious and military interpretation of life that Spain is destined to be restored. ***Parliament, 6-11-34.***

246. Discipline and service play over the heads of a generation which seeks to render impossible any fresh attack upon the integral and eternal existence of Spain.

247. The Militian hoists its recruiting-standard in every corner of the national conscience. For those who still preserve their dignity as men and patriots. For those whose pulses still beat to the throb of Spanish blood and whose spirits still hear the voice of their forebears, buried in their ancestral soil, while their hearts ring with the familiar echo

of the glories won by the men of their nation an race that cry out for perpetuation. Heroic Sense of the Militia, ***'Haz', 15-7-35.***

248. The Militia is an essential, an indispensable necessity for men and peoples who seek. to survive, an irresistible imperative for all who feel that their Patria and the continuity of its mission are pleading in a desperate torrent of cries, in a surging wave of imperial and imperious voices, for them to muster in one hierarchic disciplined force under the command of one leader, in obedience to one doctrine, in the practice of one single generous and heroic soldiering. ***Ibid.***

249. Our youth, as if by a miracle, has discovered a vein of heroism and worth which lay as if hidden, buried deep down; and it comes out with a temper surpassing the best temper of old. There you have the list, in which figures Matías Montero, the founder of the Catholic Syndicate of Students, who even when he knew he was threatened with death did not vary his route home to his house. Jesús Hernández, a child of fifteen... livid, in his dying delirium, could still sing between clenched teeth the old song of the J.O.N.S.: "I seek a Spanish death..." . . . Manuel Carrión, manager of a San Sebastian hotel. You think of him as calm, suave, peaceful, don't you? . . . a model of complaisance and tact. But one day he heard the call of the heroic, and he composed some sheets in Basque and Castilian and went out to distribute them in the streets. He was threatened with death, and one day they shot him, in the back. He died without conceding the slightest importance to life. All that interested him was the victory of the ideal for which he shed his blood... Today we have thirteen comrades in prison at Seville, including one who, when Manuel Garcia died, gaily and with his face to the foe, picked him up in his arms that he might not be mutilated by the mob, and stumbling,

falling, and rising again, made his way to a place of safety, and then, kissing him on the forehead, said to him: "; Arriba España!" Do you not think we have found the fertility of Falange Española in deeds like those I have quoted? ***Speech, Málaga, 21-7-35.***

250. The Falange is like that too. We who do battle in it have to renounce comforts, rest, even old intimacies and deep affections. We have to have our flesh ready to be torn by wounds. We have to reckon death—as enough of our best men have truly taught us—as an act of service. ***Speech, Don Benito (Badajoz), 28-4-35.***

251. None of that, gentlemen; things are not going well, because we can see before us a more powerful and better-organized revolution than that of last October, and because we are not willing that our sons shall feel the shame of knowing that there are men working from dawn to dusk for a plate of garlic and breadcrumbs and that many Spaniards live in pigsties. We are not in agreement with any of that. We are not in agreement that there must be no shooting in the streets because things are going so well; if necessary, we will rush into the street ourselves and start shooting so that things shall not remain as they are. ***Speech, Malaga, 21-7 35.***

252... . if our aims should in some event need violence to attain them, let us not stop short at violence. For who ever said, in speaking of the phrase "Anything short of violence!" that the supreme hierarchy of moral values resides in amiability? Who said that when our feelings are insulted, before we react as men, were are under the obligation to be amiable? Yes, very well, dialectic then as the first instrument of communication. But the only dialectic possible is that of fist and pistol when the offense is to Justice or to our native land. ***Speech, 9-10-33.***

253. If there should be no other means than violence,

what of it? Every system has been set up by violence, including even the mild Liberal one (the guillotine of '93 has far more executions to its name than Hitler and Mussolini put together). Violence is riot to be condemned categorically. It is so when employed against Justice. But even St. Thomas, in extreme cases, permitted rebellion against a tyrant. Thus, then, the use of violence against a victorious sect that sows discord, denies the national continuity, and obeys instructions from abroad—like the Amsterdam International, Freemasonry, and so on—on what grounds is the system implanted by such a use of violence to be regarded as illegitimate? While Spain sleeps her Siesta, '***Haz', 19-7-35.***

254. We will not vegetate amid the old order. Under it, Spain endured international humiliation, internal disunion, distaste for great enterprises, and the oppression, dirt, and subhuman living conditions of millions of human beings… . Spain has to be "mobilized" from top to bottom—put on a war footing. Spain needs to reorganize herself at one bound, not to stop in bed like an invalid without the will to be cured, resting amidst the ointments and plasters of a good administration. ***Ibid.***

255… . we who are neither of the Right nor Left, who know that each of these attitudes is incomplete, but realize none the less that all the human material at Spain's disposal stands either on the Left or on the Right as if awaiting the voice of a redeemer… ***Speech, Madrid, 2-3-36.***

256… . the members of this youth, of which I form part, consider it not merely a bad thing that there should be a dictatorship of the Right or a dictatorship of the Left, but even bad that there should be such a thing as a political Right or Left at all. ***Parliament, 19-13-33.***

257. We are neither in the Monarchist reactionary group nor in the Populist reactionary group. We, faced with the

fraud of April the 14th, the swindle of April the 14th, cannot belong to any group possessing a more or less concealed reactionary or counter-revolutionary aim, because it is precisely we who accuse the 14th of April, not of having been violent, not of having been uncomfortable, but of having been barren and of having once again frustrated the long-delayed Spanish revolution.

That is why the thing we are doing in the teeth of every insult and every misrepresentation is to go out on the streets and pick up, from among those who had it and threw it away and those who will not pick it up, the feeling, the Spanish revolutionary spirit which sooner or later, by peaceful means or violent, is going to give us back that community in our historic destiny and that deep social justice of which we stand in need. That is why our regime, which will have this in common with all revolutionary regimes, that it springs thus from discontentment, protest, and a bitter love of country, will be a wholly national regime, without the flag waggings and slick speeches of decadence, but spliced onto the true, the arduous, the eternal Spain wherein lies hid the vein of the genuine Spanish tradition. It will be social at heart. without demagogy because that is not needed, but implacably anti-capitalist and implacably anti-communist. ***Speech, Madrid, 19-5-33. 233***

258... . we feel ourselves to be, in the most explicit sense, not the vanguard but the complete army of a new order that must be implanted in Spain; that must be implanted in Spain, I say, and because Spain is what she is, I ambitiously add: a new order that Spain is destined to communicate to Europe and to the world. ***Speech, 'Spain and Barbarism' Valladolid, 3-3-35.***

259. The Falange serves two extremisms and two mysticisms: that of the perpetual revolution, the Christian

and civilizing one, and that of the present-day modern revolution, the irridentist and popular one. The Falange can make clean, definite and bright everything dirty, uncertain, distorted, and obscure in the Left and the Right, but both in the Left and in the Right it answers to deep roots, but ill-cultivated ones which have developed into diseased and crooked trees. From this two-fold correction springs the integrity of our State, which is bound by its two extremisms to the depths of a land that in great measure has preserved itself traditional and Catholic, and to the depths of a land that on the other hand is seething with. modern popular irridentisms. In this way the Falange, in its ordered revolution, allies a consciousness of modernity with a consciousness of eternity, that is, a fully realized historical consciousness. ***'In Rough Weather'.***

260... . not for anything will our movement link its destinies to the interest of a group or class nesting beneath the superficial discrimination of Right or of Left. ***Speech, Madrid, 29-10-33.***

261... . many people who supposed us to have come into the world in order to risk our lives in defence of their personal peace and quiet have been vilifying us, even in Conservative journals, for not handing ourselves over to be murdered; they had been imagining that we were risking our lives and those of our young comrades for the purpose of preventing any interference with their own repose. ***Parliament, 3-7-34.***

262... . as all types and conditions were to be found in the world, and as one of the characteristic traits of the Spaniard is his complete lack of interest in. understanding his neighbor, nothing could have made less impression on the Falangist's sense of the dramatic than the interpretations of him that blossomed forth all around in the minds of friend and foe alike. From those who without mincing words took

us for an organization that existed for the purpose of beating people up, to those who in more intellectual fashion judged us to advocate the absorption of the individual by the state; from those who hated us as representatives of the blackest reaction, to those who thought to love us dearly in order to find in us a future safeguard for their stomachs, what rubbish have we not had to read and hear spoken concerning our Movement! All in vain we have traveled the country shouting our heads off at meetings; all in vain we have published papers; the Spaniard, staunch in his first and infallible conclusions, denied us, even by way of charitable alms, what we should have valued far higher: a little attention. ***Tradition and Revolution, August, 1935.***

263... . because Fascism contains a set of external, changeable and contingent features, which we would not for anything take over; people, who are seldom disposed to draw nice distinctions, heap upon us all the attributes of Fascism without regarding the fact that we have only taken from Fascism those essentials which are permanently valid... . that sense of belief that the State has something to do and something to believe is the part of Fascism that has a permanent content, and that may well be detached from all the excrescences, incidentals and trappings of Fascism, among which there are some things that I like and others that I do not like at all. ***Parliament, 3-7-34.***

264. If we have worked so hard and endured a little danger—which does not matter—in pouring out into the fields and cities of Spain to preach this Good News of ours, it is—as you have been told already by all my comrades who have spoken here before me—it is because we have no Spain now. We find Spain divided by three kinds of secessions: local separatism, party strife, and class warfare. ***Speech, Valladolid, 4-3-34.***

265. The Falange does not exist. The Falange is of no

importance whatever. That is what they say. But already our words are in the air and in the soil. And we, in the prison yard, smile in the sunshine. This spring sunshine in which so many buds are opening. ***Article 'Prieto draws near the Falange', 23-5-36.***

266. Ever since we have been declared nonexistent, not one aspect of Spanish life but is girt round with our presence. I am no longer speaking of "fascism" or "antifascism". I am speaking, specifically, of the ideology and vocabulary of the Falange. It is enough to recall to your minds those words that used to be employed as political labels as little as three years ago: "Right", "Left", "the party of Order", "democracy", "social reformers"—who would dare to deny their staleness now? Even movements that served a considerable purpose in their day—would they, without retouching, still evoke in your mind their ancient list of connotations: "religion", "patria", "family", "property"? Clearly, each one of these themes still plows its furrow in the elemental human verities; but they can no longer spring forth in the same way. The words are still charged with interest; but the music has grown sadly antiquated. The political struggle has taken on a fresh tone and a fresh depth. Those not in the Marxist ranks have finally realized that Marxism has to be met by digging down to the very roots that it probes itself. Put simply: any antidote to Marxism is useless that does not spring from this consideration, that the world... is witnessing the culminating moments in the last stage of an epoch. Maybe that of the liberal-capitalist epoch: maybe that of some other, of which liberal-capitalism was the final period. We stand before the imminent menace of a "barbarian invasion"; one of those historical cataclysms that regularly operate as the colophon to every Age. Never has frivolity been less legitimate than now. Seldom has existence possessed the

religious and militant quality it has today. The gashes in the life of our times refuse to scar over falsely. The last reserves of vitality must be drawn upon: those reserves which in ascendant times achieved the building up of nations. Hence the watchword of our days: "National", uttered as a summons to one mission and one task, not as a vague assumption underlying all the tasks of all the parties. Many today fly the National pennant. But in active politics, taken in this exact, poetical, militant significance, the first to advance the word "national" were ourselves, the men of the Falange Española.

And with it goes a whole system of dialectics and of poetics, a whole strict outline of form, composed more than anything else of renunciation. At the beginning we were few, and our voice was feeble. At no time have we disposed of great organs of publicity. We held rallies, but they were practically always ignored by a Press partly hostile and partly jealous. Yet through the mysterious channels by which the religious idea is disseminated, our theses steadily continued to catch on and to spread. At this moment there is not a single Spanish politician who has not more or less admittedly adopted points and angles taken from our vocabulary. ***Ibid.***

267. It astounds me that after three years the immense majority of our countrymen should persist in judging us without having begun to show the faintest sign of understanding us, and indeed without having even sought, or accepted, the slightest information. If the Falange is consolidated into something permanent, I hope all will feel remorse that so much blood should have been shed because no calm attention was forthcoming to open a breach for us between the fury of one side and the apathy of the other. ***Will of Jose Antonio.***

268. Whilst so many inflated shams collapsed at the first

blow of adversity, the Falange, poor and persecuted, has alone maintained a joyous faith in the resurrection of Spain, and a stern front against assassination and outrage. ***Sheet written in the dungeons of the Security Police Headquarters, 14-3-36.***

269. We are here to fight for an authoritarian State that shall do as much with its wealth for the humble as for the powerful. ***Speech, Madrid, 29-10-33.***

270. For these things, which are not negotiations but jobs to be done, unstinting-effort. Beneath the shade of this banner we are indeed ready to enlist, as the first or the last, in a National Front. Not to win an election whose result is ephemeral, but with a permanent vocation. It seems abominable to us that the fortunes of Spain should have to be staked every two years on the hazards of the poll: that every two years we should put on the tragic show in which by dint of shouting. bribery, inanities and insults everything permanent in Spain is jeopardized and the concord between Spaniards is rent asunder. For a lengthy collective job of work we want a National Front. For a Sunday afternoon's elections, for the futility of a few seats in Parliament, we do not. This electoral occasion in our eyes represents nothing but a passing moment. When once it is over, let us trust we shall not remain alone in the undertaking that these lines foreshadow. But, alone or in company, while God gives us the strength, we shall go on—without pride but without flagging—with our hearts at peace in this our workmanlike and soldierly enterprise. ***Before the Elections, 1936***

271. In vain the Falange Española de las J. 0. N. S. has again and again raised its voice against a political system that makes sport of the Patria in the alternating quadrille of Right and Left. It has been vain to reiterate that the destiny and the interest of our country are always the same and cannot be looked at from the right or from the left, but only

in their whole integrity. Despite such predictions, the parties of the Left have laid themselves out to slander us, representing us—well knowing that they lied—as defenders of a capitalist system we think detestable, while the people of the Right have preferred to rally to leaders who offered more comfortable programs, even though the comfortableness of those programs involved the sacrifice of all youthful ardor and all deep feeling for Spain… . Falange Española de las J. 0. N. S. has nothing immediate to do in this chaos into which Spain has sunk, in this putrefaction, stinking higher and higher to heaven, of a political system in its last throes. ***Manifesto to Spain, 'F. E.', 26-4-34.***

272. If the result of the election scrutiny is adverse, dangerously adverse, to the eternal destiny of Spain, the forces of the Falange will relegate the proceedings at the election scrutiny to the uttermost limbo of contempt. If, after the scrutiny, whether victorious or defeated, the enemies of Spain, the representatives of that materialistic interpretation of which Spain is the contradiction, seek once more to seize power, then once more the Falange, unblustering but unflinching, will be at its post, as it was two years ago, one year ago, yesterday, and always. ***Speech, Before the Elections, Madrid, 2-2-36.***

273. Our Falange, the bearer of the new faith, will make Spain a nation again and will implant social justice in her; will give her bread and faith. Worthy fare, and imperial joy. ***New Light in Spain, May 1934.***

274. May God grand that its innocent ardor may never be made use of in any other service than that of the great Spain which is the Falange's dream. ***Will of José Antonio Promo de Rivera***

TASK OF THE REVOLUTION

(A)

275. **T**he essential thing is the historical and political sense possessed by the Movement: the retention of its validity into the future. This indeed must be clear in the heads and hearts of those who are in command. ***Letter to the Armed Forces of Spain, written secretly from the Model Prison, Madrid, 4-5-36***

276. We have, as Westerners, Spaniards and Christians, to begin with man, with the individual, in the building up of a new order; we have to begin with man, and continue through man's organic units. Thus we ascend from the man to the family, and from the family to the Municipality in one way and the Syndicate in another, and we reach the culminating point of the State, which is to be the harmony of them all. ***Speech, Madrid, 19-5-35.***

277. Here is what is demanded by our complete feeling of the Patria and the State which shall serve it: That all the peoples of Spain, however diverse, shall feel themselves brought into harmony in one irrevocable unity of destiny. And that the political parties shall disappear. No man was ever born a member of a political party; on the contrary, we are all born members of one family: we are all citizens of one Municipality; we all press forward in the exercise of one task of work. If these, then, are our natural units, if the family and the Municipality and the corporation are the realities of our lives, why should we require the intermediate and pernicious instrument of the political parties, which, in order to unite us in artificial groups, begin by disuniting us in the matter of our genuine realities? We want less Liberal word-mongering and more respect for the deep liberty of man.

We want all to feel themselves members of one solemn and entire community; in other words, the tasks to be carried out are many: for some the work of the hands; for others, that of the intellect; for others again, instructor in behavior and refinements of life. But in a community such as we strive after, let it be known henceforth, there must be no passengers and no drones.

We want no song about individual rights of the kind that can never be satisfied in the homes of the hungry, but that there should be given to every man, every member of the political community, by the mere fact of his belonging to it, the means of earning, by his own labor, a human, just and decent living.

We want the spirit of religion—the keystone of the finest arches in our history—respected and supported as it deserves, but we do not want the State on those grounds to involve itself in functions not its own, nor to share—as it has done, perhaps for interests other than those of true religion—functions which it has the duty of performing itself. We want Spain resolutely to recover the universal sense of her own culture and history. ***Speech, Madrid, 29-10-33.***

278. We want the Movement begun today, and the State that it creates, to be the effective and authoritative instrument at the service of this unchallengeable unity, this permanent unity, this irrevocable unity which is called the Patria. ***Ibid.***

279... . we want all the peoples of Spain to feel, not just the elementary patriotism by which the land draws our hearts, but the patriotism of having a mission, the transcendental patriotism of a great Spain. ***Parliament, 4-1-34***

(B)

280. Here is a great and splendid job for those who really

regard the Patria as a task of work: to ease its economic life of the capitalist cupping-glass, which is destined inexorably to break out in Communism: the release, through the living network of genuine producers, of the piled-up profits that parasitical capitalism absorbs, would nourish small private ownership, would really set free the individual, who is not free when he is starving, and would fill with economic substance the true organic units: the family, the township, with its communal patrimony restored, and the Syndicate, not the mere representative of those who have to hire their labor out like merchandise, but the beneficiary of the profits earned through the efforts of all who make it up. ***Manifesto, Before the Elections, 16-1-36.***

281. The only way to solve the social question. is by altering the—economic organization from top to bottom. The economic revolution is not to consist—as is said to be our intention by some people in these parts, the sort of people who will repeat any catch-phrase without giving it five minutes examination—in the absorption of the individual by the State and in State pantheism. It is precisely with the individual that the complete revolution, the complete reorganization of Europe, must begin, because the one who has suffered most from this dislocation, the one who has become a mere molecule, without personality, substance, content or existence, is the wretched individual, who has been the last to undergo any of the improvements in life. The whole of the new organization and the new revolution, the whole strengthening of the State and the whole economic reorganization, will be directed towards bringing the enjoyment of those improvements within the range of these huge masses that have been uprooted by liberal economics and by the Communist attempt. Is this to be called absorption of the individual by the State? What happens is that in this system the individual will have the

same destiny as the State. The State will have two quite clear aims, as we have always said; one, outwards, to strengthen the Patria; the other, inwards, to make a larger number of men happier and more human and to give them more share in human life. And the day that the individual and the State, integrated in one complete harmony, restored to one complete harmony, have a single aim, a single destiny, a single lot in life, then indeed the State may be strong without being tyrannical, for it will be using its strength for its subjects good and prosperity alone. ***Lecture, Madrid, 9-4-35.***

282. The workmen know national-syndicalism only through its enemies versions. They therefore believe it to be a tool of capitalism. whereas actually one of its reasons for existence is the intention of dismantling capitalism.

283. The workmen are the blood and soil of Spain, they are part of us. Do not take them for enemies, even if they shout against us. No, my comrades, they are not enemies, all they who cast evil looks at you when you go crying our papers for sale and when you are giving out our leaflets. They are a very part of our Falange. '***Red Front', «Arriba», 16-5-35.***

284. The idler who is a guest of life without contributing anything to the common tasks is a type destined to disappear in any well regulated community. The role of non-paying guest is on the road to extinction in the world. ***'Señoritismo'***

285... . we will take down the economic ma-chine of capitalist ownership which swallows all the profits, and replace it by individual ownership, family ownership, common ownership and syndical ownership. ***Speech, Madrid, 19-5-35.***

(C)

286. The Spanish State could gird itself for the fulfillment of the essential functions of Power, by exercising not merely arbitration over, but in many economic aspects complete direction of, a number of bodies that descend from a grand traditional lineage: the Syndicates, for instance, which will then no longer be parasitical outbuildings as they are in the existing set-up of labor relations, but vertical integrating bodies of all who collaborate in carrying out each branch of production. ***Speech, 'Spain and Barbarism', Valladolid, 3-3-35.***

287. In the Fascist State—and the workmen will get to know this soon, despite all efforts—the workers syndicates are raised to the immediate dignity of organs of the State. ***1st Letter to Luca de Tena, 'A B C'. 22-3-33 (*).***

(*) Six months before the foundation of the Falange. See Nos. 135 and 263.—Translator.

288. In the economic order, Falange Española de las J. 0. N. S. tends towards total syndicalism; that is, that the surplus value of production should remain in its entirety in the hands of the organic, vertical, producers syndicate, whose own economic power would procure it the credit necessary for production, without needing to hire it—expensively—from the bankers. This economic tendency may perhaps bear more resemblance to the German than to the Italian program. 289. The Syndicates are professional confraternities, workers brotherhoods, but at the same time they are vertical organs in the integral structure of the State. And in fulfilling his humble, personal, daily task, a man has the assurance that he is a living and indispensable organ in the body of the Patria. The State is thus relieved of a thousand duties it unnecessarily takes upon itself today. It only reserves to itself the duties of its own mission, in the eyes of the world and of history. ***Lecture 'State, Individual, Freedom', 28-3-35.***

290. In a future development that may seem revolutionary but is a very ancient thing, being the system of the old European Guilds, we shall reach the point where labor is not transferred like merchandise, and this bilateral labor relationship no longer obtains, but where all who take part in the task, all who comprise and complete the national economy, will be drawn up in vertical syndicates. These will not need Equity Committees or connecting-pieces, because they will work organically, as, for instance, the Army works, without its having occurred to anyone to form Equity Committees of men and their officers. ***Lecture, Madrid, 9-4-35.***

291. In what we are seeking to achieve, which is something much more profound, in which the worker is going to have a much greater share, in which the workers syndicate is going to have a direct share in the functioning of the State, we are not going to make social advances one at a time like somebody giving out concessions in a haggling-match, but we will reconstruct the economic system from top to bottom after a different manner and upon different foundations; and that will be the time, Señor Gil Robles, when a far fairer social order will be achieved. ***Parliament, 6-11-34.***

(D)

292. Yes, go into the country. You will see more, and-better, when you create your State in it. Go into the Country.

293. We will go into those fields and villages of Spain to turn their despair into enthusiasm. To embody them all into one undertaking. To transform into impetus what today is the righteous ferocity of wild animals herded into compounds, without a single one of the graces or the pleasures of the life of men. Our Spain is to be found among

the crags and the wilds. It is there we shall find ourselves, whilst in the Palace of Parliament a few cliques cage up their wingless victory. '***F. E.', 7-12-33.***

294. With intelligent agrarian reform, such as that put forward by Onésimo Redondo, and with a credit reform in order to ransom farmers, small manufacturers and small traders from the gilded claws of financial usury,—with these two things there would be a task to be completed within fifty years: the winning of prosperity for the Spanish people. ***Speech, Madrid, 19-5-35.***

295... . two things are needful: a credit reform, in. transition towards the nationalization of the credit service, and an Agrarian Reform that shall delimit the arable areas and economic units of cultivation, carry out the revolution of installing the farming people upon them, and allow to revert to forest and pasture the lands unfit for crops, which today are scratched away at by multitudes of wretches condemned to perpetual hunger. ***Manifesto, Before the Elections, 1936.***

296. Spanish rural life is utterly intolerable. Agrarian Reform is something more extensive than proceeding to the carving-up and division of great estates and the grouping-together of smallholdings. Agrarian Reform is something greater, something far more ambitious and far more complete; it is an alluring and magnificent enterprise, probably capable of achievement on revolutionary occasions alone. ***Parliament, 23-7-35.***

297. To us Agrarian Reform is not merely a technical and economic problem to be studied coldly in the schools; agrarian reform is the total reform of Spanish life. Spain is nearly all countryside; the fact that in the Spanish countryside intolerable conditions of life are imposed on the farming community of human beings in the Spanish environment is not merely a problem of economics: it is a

whole problem of religion and morality. That is why it is monstrous to approach agrarian reform with no standard but the economic; that is why it is monstrous to set up material interest against material interest, as if the question contained nothing more than that; that is why it is monstrous for those who oppose agrarian reform to adduce nothing but titles of inheritance, as if their opponents, whose claims are based on centuries of hunger, were merely aiming at possession of a legacy and not at the whole possibility of living as human and religious beings. This agrarian reform also falls under two headings: first, economic reform, and secondly, social reform. ***Speech, Madrid, 17-11-35.***

298. Spanish Agrarian Reform must be twofold; if not, it will be no more than a partial remedy and will probably make things worse than before. In the first place, it demands an economy reorganization of the soil of Spain. The soil of Spain is not all of it inhabitable, far from it; the soil of Spain is not all of it arable. There are immense stretches of Spanish soil where to be either a tenant farmer or a small proprietor is tantamount to perpetuating a state of want from which neither father, son nor grandson will ever see themselves redeemed. There are lands of absolute poverty from which unending toil, generation after generation, can never wring more than three or four seeds for one. To keep the inhabitants of Spain bound down to these lands is to condemn them for ever to a destitution that will extend to their posterity.

The first thing to be done in Spain is to mark out which are the habitable areas in national territory. These habitable areas form a part that possibly does not exceed one-fourth of that territory, and within these habitable areas the units of cultivation must be demarcated afresh. It is not a question of great estates or smallholdings; it is a question of

economic units of cultivation. There are areas where the great estate is indispensable—the great estate, not the great estate-owner, he is another thing—, because only large-scale cultivation can repay the great expenses necessary if the cultivation is to be efficient... There are areas where smallholding is an admirable unit of cultivation; there are areas where smallholding is a disastrous one. ***Parliament, 23-7-35.***

299. And thereafter, to have the courage to let non-arable lands revert to forest, the forest for which our bald lands yearn, and to pasture, that there may be a renaissance of our greatness in stock breeding, which made us strong and robust; to let all such lands go out of cultivation, and never again to put plowshare into their poverty. With the arable lands of Spain once delimited, then to proceed, still within the bounds of economic cultivation, to reconstruct the units of tillage. On this our National Council has put in splendid work. On general lines, three types of cultivation may be indicated, as from this point of view the northern regions and those of the east coast can to a certain degree be bracketed. There are three kinds of cultivation: large-scale cultivation of dry land, which needs industrialization and the employment of all technical processes necessary for economic production, and which must be placed under syndical control. There is small farming, including in general all irrigated land and farming of land in humid zones; these must be split up into family units, but as the fact is that in many of these areas the splitting-up process has been carried too far and has reached the stage of uneconomic minifundia, what in many cases may be a question of splitting-up will in others be one of grouping-together to form family farming units, or family farming estates, or else they will be run by a family cooperative system for the supply of equipment and the marketing of

produce. Then there are other great areas, such as the olive-groves for example, whose cultivation leaves men completely unoccupied for whole months at a time, Lands of this class need complementary work, either by means of small-scale irrigation-cropping to which the workers can transfer during the seasons of involuntary unemployment, or else by the setting up of small industries ancillary to agriculture, by means of which the rural workers may earn a living during these long periods. Once this classification of lands is made, once these economical farming units are constituted, then the time arrives to carry out the social reform of agriculture. Now ask yourselves carefully: What, from a social point of view, does the reform of agriculture imply? It implies this:—the Spanish people have been going hungry for centuries; they must be taken and redeemed from sterile land's where their want is made permanent; they must be transferred" to new and arable lands; they must be installed without delay, without centuries of delay as the Law of Agricultural Counter-Reform would wish, on good lands. You may ask me: Yes, but with or without compensation to the owners? That we cannot say for certain: it depends on the financial conditions obtaining at the time. But what I do say is this: while it is being settled whether we are in a financial position to pay for the land or not, the thing that cannot be demanded is that those who have gone hungry for centuries shall continue to endure the uncertainty whether there is or is not to be an agrarian reform. Those who have gone hungry for centuries must be installed first of all; after that we can see whether the land is to be paid for or not, but he who makes the reform at the capitalist's risk is juster and more humane, and he saves a greater number of souls, than he who makes it at the peasant's.

Just now, all that is no more than a part. It means the

reestablishment of our people's existence on a humane material basis; but they must also be united above, they must be given a collective faith, the supremacy of spiritual things must be restored. ***Speech, Madrid, 17-11-35.***

300. This will be the real return to Nature, not in the Eclogue sense, which is that of Rousseau, but in the Georgic sense, which is the deep, austere, ritual manner of understanding the earth. ***Speech, 'Spain and Barbarism', Valladolid, 3-3-35.***

(E)

301. Laws that are applied with equal strictness to all, that is what we need. The implacable extirpation of inveterate abuses: patron-age, intrigue, influence. Justice, swift and sure, which if it ever inclines shall not do so in cowardice, towards the mighty, but in benevolence, towards the erring. But this justice can only be attained by a State assured of its own justifying reasons. ***Manifesto, Before the Elections, 1936.***

(F)

302. How can anybody imagine that our attitudes are going to be influenced by a definite feeling of affinity towards one country or another? Among other reasons, because assuredly there cannot be a single one of us sitting here with an-open mind who has not been influenced by many such affinities; we have all of us—some more and some less, myself in the latter group—dipped into European culture; we have all felt the influence of French literature, English education, Germán philosophy, and the political tradition of Italy, which is at present carrying out one of the supreme experiments, a supreme experiment that no-one can escape devoting serious study to, and to which, undoubtedly, no-one is without some objection or other to

put forward. It is, then, a Spanish interest and a Spanish attitude that I am at this moment about to defend, just as are those, assuredly, which are going to be defended by each of you. ***(On Foreign Policy) Parliament, 2-10-35.***

303. We want a foreign policy that shall be determined at all times, as to peace or war, neutrality or belligerency, by the free advantage of Spain, not by servitude to any exterior Power. ***Manifesto, Before the Elections, 1936.***

TACTICAL WATCHWORDS

304. **I**t is to be hoped that there are not still left insensate fools who seek to squander a fresh historic occasion (the final one) on serving the advantage of petty interests. If there should be, the whole of your rigor and ours would fall upon them. The banner of the national interest is not flown to cover up trafficking in starvation. Millions of Spaniards are suffering from that traffic and it is of the first urgency to remedy it. For this the great task of national reconstruction must be set in motion at full speed ahead. All must be bidden, organically and in ordered fashion, to the enjoyment of what Spain produces and can produce. This will imply sacrifices by those who today enjoy too great a station in the niggardly life of Spain. But you—tempered in the religion of service and of sacrifice—, and we—who have voluntarily imposed an ascetic and soldierly sense upon our lives—will teach all to bear the sacrifice with glad faces, with the glad face of him who, at the price of some renunciations in the material order, saves the eternal store of principles which were carried to half the world, in her universal mission, by Spain. 305. In the centuries wherein there grew to ripeness that which was to culminate in Empire, they did not say "Against the Moors!", but "Santiago, y cierra España!", which was a cry of effort, of attack. We, instructed in that school, are little given to shouting Down with this, or

Down with the next thing. We prefer to shout “Arriba!” “Up with Spain!”. Spain, one, great, and free—not halfhearted or mediocre. ***Manifesto, Before the Elections, 1936.***

THE IDEA OF EMPIRE—OR—
DOCTRINE OF THE LAST WORD

306. **I**n this Spain which has never been over-industrialized, which is not overpopulated, which has not been through the war; Spain, in which we still retain the possibility of rebuilding a craftsmanship that still largely survives; in which we have the stout framework of a disciplined and long suffering mass of small manufacturers and small traders; in which we have an intact array of spiritual values;—in such a Spain, what are we waiting for, in order to seize our opportunity and once again to put ourselves, ambitious as it may sound, at the head of Europe? What are we waiting for? ***Lecture, Madrid, 9-4-35.***

307. This integration of man and Patria—what are we waiting for, in order to bring it about? Well, we are waiting for the parties of the Left and the parties of the Right to realize that these two things are inseparable, and now you will see that it is not some trifling incident that I am blaming them for; what I am blaming them for is this inability of theirs to face the entire problem of man's integration in his Patria. ***Ibid.***

308. This is just what Spain should be setting herself to do at this hour: to assume the role of harmonizing the destinies of man and of Patria: to realize that man cannot be free and is not free if he is not living as a man, and he cannot live as a man unless he is assured of a minimum living wage, and he cannot have a minimum living wage unless the economic system is established on a different footing which shall increase millions of men's chances of benefit, and the economic system cannot be so established without a strong State able to organize it, and there cannot be a strong State able to organize it except in the service of one great unity of destiny, and this is the Patria.

Then see how everything works better, see how this titanic and tragic struggle, between man and the State that feels itself to be man's oppressor, is brought to an end. When that is won (and it can be won and it is the key to the existence of Europe, for Europe was like that when it was Europe, and like that must Europe and Spain be again), we shall know that in each one of our acts, in the most familiar of our acts, in the humblest of our daily tasks, at the same time as we are serving our modest individual destiny, we are serving the destiny of Spain, Europe and the world, the complete and harmonious destiny of Creation. ***Ibid.***

309. Spain has never yet justified herself except when fulfilling a world mission, and this is the one that is hers to fulfill today:—the world is living through the last death-agonies of the liberal-capitalist order, and the world can now do no more, because the liberal-capitalist order has smashed the harmony between man and his environment, between man and his Patria… We have reached the end of this liberal-capitalist epoch when we no longer feel ourselves linked together by anything above us or below: we have neither a destiny nor a Patria, because each man regards the Patria from the narrow standpoint of his party, nor yet a solid basis of common life together, a strong sense of feeling bound down to the earth…

Liberal-capitalism must necessarily find its outlet in Communism. There is only one deep and sincere way of avoiding the advent of Communism: that is, to have the courage to dismantle Capitalism, to get it dismantled by the very people who profit by it, if in truth they do desire to stop the Communist revolution from carrying away from before their eyes the religious, spiritual and national values that Tradition contains. If they do desire it, they should give us their aid in dismantling Capitalism and setting up the new order.

This is not merely an economic task; it is a high moral task. Men must be given, back their economic property, in order that substance may once again flow back into their moral units, their family, their guild, their municipality; human life must be caused once more to become close-knit and secure, as it was in other days; and for this great economic and moral task, for this mighty task, we in Spain are in the best possible circumstances. Spain is the country which has suffered least from the rigors of Capitalism; Spain —a blessing on her backwardness!—is the most backward in large-scale capitalization; Spain can be the first to be saved from the chaos which threatens the world. And observe how it is that in every age the words that create an Order issue from the mouth of a Nation. The nation which is the first to hit upon the Words of the new age is the nation that takes her place at the head of the world. Here lies our power, if we wish, to bring it about, that the head of the world shall once again be our Spain. ***Speech, Before the Elections, Madrid, 2-2-36.***

FINAL INVOCATION

310. **W**e want no more cries of fear; we want the word of command that shall launch Spain once again, With resolute step, on the universal road of historic destinies. ***February-2-36.***

GLOSSARY

C. E. D. A.—(Confederación Española de Derechas Autónomas). Right-wing bloc of parties under the leadership of Gil Robles.

Cortes.—The Spanish national Parliament.

Generalidad.—The autonomous Parliament of the region of Catalonia, which in fact tended towards separatism, to the point of actual armed rebellion (against the Republic) in 1934.

J. 0. N. S.—(Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional-Sindicalistas). National-
syndicalist councils of action. The movement which started a little before the Falange Española. After a short period of independent life, the two movements were fused into the single movement of Falange Española de las J. 0. N. S. The occasion of the fusion was marked by the Valladolid meeting of 4-3-24. The aims of the two original movements were identical although the angle of approach was not always the same. The Falange (F. E. de las J. 0. N. S.) continued with this title until it and the Requeté movement (the heir to the Carlists), of patriotic and Traditionalist aims, were incorporated together by General Franco, as Head of the Nationalist Movement, in 1937, under the

comprehensive title of Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las J. 0. N. S. which it bears today. Jurados mixtos.—Joint Courts of employers and employees for settling industrial and labor disputes.

Populist.—A word to denote the attitude of «Accion Popular), a subsection of the C. *(Note: the term 'Populist' is no longer a bad word; since the time of Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera the word has come into popularity among Fascist and National Syndicalist movements and Parties—HRM)*

E. D. A. Puerta del Sol.—The «heart» of Madrid, corresponding to Piccadilly Circus in London.

S. E. U.—(Sindicato Español Universitario). The. syndicate, or guild, of University students.

Syndicate.—correctly, vertical syndicates. Rather «guild» than «trade-union», since the latter normally includes employees alone. The vertical syndicate runs through each branch of production or other economic-social activity, from bottom to top, including manual workers, intellectual workers, technicians, management and shareholders (if any), i. e. all elements that make a contribution to the national welfare in this branch of activity. Hence, the notion of class-struggle or opposition can have no place. The syndical aim is that all of these elements shall not merely enjoy representation but participate proportionately in the control and profits of the undertaking. The difference between this national-syndicalist system and the early class-syndicalism (e. g. in Italy), and on the other hand between this system of vertical guilds and the «corporative state» will be clearly apparent.

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THERE IS STILL HOPE FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND CANADA

THE REST OF this chapter is devoted to the gutsy and heroic patriotic efforts that are today being made by Americans in the area of national corporate syndicalism, nationalism, restoration of national identity, which all nations are so rightfully pursuing, and the re-examination of Fascist policies and ideology for the realization of a viable doctrine that will address and solve the issues and problems North Americans are currently beset by. There are the very same concerns in South America.

I begin this exposition with the manifesto of the National Syndical American Falange Party. This is a document which is in keeping with the standard Fascist and Corporate Syndicalist doctrinal lines and is a good representation of Fascist ideology throughout the world.

However, I would like to use a document written by Lawrence

Dennis to serve as a Preface or Introduction to the American Fascist manifestos and related statements. Enjoy . . . .

OBJECTIVES IN FOREIGN RELATIONS

By ***Lawrence Dennis***

WE MAY ROUGHLY divide the objectives of our foreign policy into those classifiable under the head of national defense, economic security, and special policies. As for the objectives of national defense, it seems clear that in order to maintain our position as a great nation we should maintain naval parity with the greatest power, a professional army of at least four hundred thousand men fully equipped, and universal compulsory military service. It may be asked why we need such a large armed establishment if we are not going to be the aggressor and if, with a much smaller establishment, we could probably raise enough forces in time to meet any attack and secure our defense. The answer is that if we have an inferior military establishment, we are more than likely to be challenged, inasmuch as we will inevitably insist on having a lot to say in the foreign field.

We cannot avoid war by being unprepared for it, as our experience in the late War demonstrates. And we cannot determine for ourselves the scale of armaments which properly corresponds to our size and pretentions. The scale of armaments which properly corresponds to our size and pretentions must, in the nature of things, be dictated to us by the rest of the nations. If they maintain armaments on a certain scale, we must observe, accordingly, proportions on that scale corresponding to our size and stakes. To have the interests of a first rate world power, to insist on interposing

our word or will as such, and to maintain an armed establishment disproportionately small, is merely to tempt daring and desperate powers to risk an encounter with us. As for the costs of national defense, it need only be said that men are better off in the army than in the bread line, and the country is better off to have the idle producing the instruments of self-defense than to have them idle. National defense is one way of producing and consuming wealth.

Unemployment is not a source of income but a true and tragic waste. Everyone, liberal, fascist and communist, including all the professional and sincere pacifists, wants peace, provided it can be had on his terms. In this respect it is difficult to see any difference between the so-called pacifists and the so-called militarists. No one, certainly not any one of the numerous types of pacifists, is willing to have peace on any terms whatsoever which the other fellow may dictate. In other words, no one puts peace first in his list of objectives. There are no believers in peace at any price. Those who talk most about their love of peace and other men's love of war and who ordinarily oppose most violently any adequate military preparedness for their own country will be the first and most energetic advocates of getting their own country into a war for peace every time an international conflict breaks out anywhere in the world.

Fascism has been denounced by the liberals, pacifists and socialists as a war breeder, yet, at the time this book went to press, it was the latter who, along with the international banking and pro-English interests and sympathizers everywhere, were on record in the Italian-Ethiopian situation as supporting sanctions which could only mean a world war.

On the other hand, the organized fascists of England, under Sir Oswald Moseley, and of France, under Colonel de La Rocque, were constantly making public demonstrations

in opposition to policies which the British Government was trying to have carried out by the League, policies which, as the responsible British statesmen well knew, could only mean a world war.

The fascist, being an enlightened patriot of his own nation, is ready to fight for its defense and supposed best interests but never for abstractions like peace and international justice, terms which, as a practical matter, mean the side in a conflict taken by the user of these terms. The fascist sees that the defense and best interests of his own land do not require it to become involved in every war that occurs. The internationalist, on the other hand, must try to draw his country into every war that breaks out, for he is committed always to fight for peace and justice, as something quite apart from the selfish interest of his own country, and every war necessarily presents a breach of the peace as well as an issue of justice. The real issue between the fascist and liberal view as to foreign policy is not one of Shall we uphold peace or permit wars? for no League or similar agency has ever prevented or can ever prevent war. The Italian-Ethiopian and the Sino-Japanese episodes of the past two years have added to the long list of historical proofs of the impossibility of international action, through the League or without a league, preventing war or terminating war except as wars have always been terminated, namely either by fighting it out or by compromise diplomatically, not judicially, arrived at, according to the existing balance of power or force factors, not according to any normative verbalisms or principles of law or justice set forth in League Covenants, treaties or other masterpieces of legal draftsmanship. The real issue, so far as internationalism or Anglo-League-ism is concerned, is whether every challenge to the existing status quo which England may find dangerous to her imperial interests and

consequently may wish to have pronounced a crime and an unwarranted aggression shall be turned into a world war, by reason of a British monopoly of righteousness and a British supremacy in finance and propaganda used to line up most of the nations of the world in opposition to the challengers and in defense of what England desires.

The internationalists, of course, try to argue that lining up the whole world into two camps of the angels versus the war making devil or devils will prevent wars from occurring or quickly end them if they do break out. The argument, however, rests on nothing but wishful thinking. It will, of course, happen in practically every war or clash of national interests that there will be a majority and a minority both as to numbers of nations taking sides and as to their combined resources. But it will not happen that the majority on the side of England and the angels will always be so overwhelming as to prevent a resort to arms. If the coalition on the side of the angels does not prevent the war starting, it is a travesty on words to call it—a coalition to make war—a peace-making measure. It will not always happen that the majority will side with England and the angels. And it may even happen that a majority with England and the angels will some day get licked by a minority fighting against peace and justice as defined by England and the League. Then there is strong reason to suppose that some nations will remain on the fence in a holy war between justice and injustice or England and the Devil, thus complicating military calculations or any program of joint coercion against the Devil.

The internationalists, most of whom are subsidized spokesmen of the bankers and their peace foundations, colleges, press and other cultural institutions, have a profound and understandable reverence for bankers, international finance and business men generally. This naive

awe of trade and finance leads these internationalists and theorists to attribute to finance and trade a power to exercise deterrent pressure on political leaders which money changers and traders have never been able to exercise against strong men in the saddle. Alexander, Julius Caesar or even as recent a conqueror as Napoleon were never subject to restraint from making war by any possible action of money-lenders and traders, not any more than Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin or Araki are today. Money-lenders and tradesmen can support governments under which they live in making war on a Caesar or a Napoleon or a Mussolini, but they are effective only as auxiliaries of the men behind the guns in actual war, not as forces to prevent a war. The money lenders and tradesmen of the country of a political leader who wants to make war, of course, will always have to do as they are told quite as much as conscripted soldiers.

Economic sanctions without waging armed warfare are always certain to prove a farce. Economic forces can be mobilized effectively only to help make war, never to prevent it. The reasons are obvious on analysis of the factors which determine war making. It is hard enough ordinarily to hold together for any length of time in an effective measure of loyal and efficient cooperation any large coalition of nations allied in making a war. This feat was achieved by the Allies in the late World War only by virtue of the ten billion dollars of goods and services which the American people donated to subsidize the Allied effort.

What holds a war making alliance together or what enforces a workable measure of solidarity, loyalty and efficient cooperation in a war enterprise is one thing: a strong andever present sense of danger from a common foe. To expect a large number of allies to maintain such solidarity and cooperation in applications of economic pressure when no such paramount motivation operates to

impose it is utterly naive and unrealistic. Every member of such a preposterous coalition of peacefully coercing nations would have unlimited opportunities and inducements to cheat with safety and advantage. And it would be technically impossible for the alliance, as a whole, to act as an inquiring policeman, a judging magistrate or a disciplining force. Nations and large groups of individuals can only be disciplined by emotional drives from within. Legal verbalisms which they may adopt as norms of conduct have validity only to the extent that the inner drives in the majority of persons uphold the enforcement of these norms. In war time there is a majority group will to self-defense and defeat of the enemy in arms. In sanctions time there could be no majority group will to uphold measures which would operate to national economic disadvantage and which would be indicated by no imperative of immediate safety. The notion that war, in the abstract, is a public enemy against which all nations can be permanently united is the purest poppycock. Those who preach this absurd notion most are the first to refute it by rushing to embrace this public enemy war as a means to the desired end of peace.

As this book goes to press, the League is being manipulated by England in an attempt to force the rest of the world into an alliance to protect and further what those in power in England mistakenly consider to be Britain's best interests in the Mediterranean. Anyone would be rash to predict exactly what would be the outcome of a war involving most of the nations of the earth at the start in a war against Italy. But it is safe to predict what would not result from any such British or League war. For one thing, it would not long remain a united enterprise. For another, it would not succeed in its alleged undertaking to lay the foundations of a lasting peace and scheme of justice. It would begin by making a small war large. How it would

end, no one can say, except to guess that it would end in the triumph of communism or chaos.

No Englishman is to be blamed for wanting to fight Italy or any other country if he believes such a war in the best interests of England. Nor should he be censured for trying to secure as many allies as possible for his country in that war by the use of the most unscrupulous propaganda, the most absurd exploitation of moral issues or the most barefaced lies. All is fair in love and war.

Likewise, no Italian should be blamed for wanting his country to follow the illustrious examples of conquest and territorial aggrandizement which have made the United States, Britain and France great and powerful. But any American or Frenchman, who would have his countrymen duped into fighting another nation's battle, is it that of Britain or Italy, when it is not the battle of his own country, should be deemed a poor patriot or a poor thinker or both.

It is absurd to argue that a battle against every aggressor nation is always the battle of all other nations, the argument now being advanced by Britain as the ruling principle of the League. Such an argument is historically and rationally untenable. The nations of the world did not combine to avert, defeat or even mildly censure a ruthless and unjustified American aggression against and conquest of Mexico or similar British and French aggressions, conquests and annexations too numerous here to mention, yet the nations of the world, as a whole, have never felt or had reason to feel the fear that America, Britain or France would go on from one conquest to another until the entire world had been subjugated by one or the other of these great powers. As Mr. Frank Simonds has so aptly pointed out in the Italian-Ethiopian conflict, it is absurd for the winners at the national game of conquest, having themselves acquired by conquest about all they feel able or disposed to manage,

if not more, suddenly to go righteous and try to enforce on the entire world for all time a code of morality, the first commandment of which "Thou shalt not follow our examples."

Under the heading of national security, we must not only maintain adequate armed forces, but we must make sure of the exclusion of European powers from further extension of their influence in this hemisphere, as well as secure our control of the Panama Canal. To maintain our paramount strategic position on this hemisphere and prevent an extension of European influence, it is not necessary for us to repeat or continue the stupid and unnecessary adventures of Presidents Theodore Roosevelt, Taft, Wilson, and Coolidge, and Secretaries of State Root and Hughes, in dollar diplomacy, loans, military interventions, financial interventions, political meddling to insure fair elections, sound financial control, or protection, of American capital in the Caribbean republics. To keep Europe out of those republics is all we need aim at.

To do that, all we require is naval supremacy and appropriate bases in these areas. We do not need to insure good government, sound financial administration, or special protection for foreign capital, in the Caribbean republics in order to keep European governments out. We could not insure such ideal conditions there if we tried. We do not have them at home and certainly they do not prevail in most European countries today. Nor do we need to have any such ideal conditions in the Caribbean republics in order to make it possible for our citizens to exploit the resources and peoples of these republics. We should not attempt, through intervention in these republics, to afford American interests there a degree of security which business in the United States does not enjoy from gangsters, tornadoes, business depressions or high taxes.

The only interest in Latin America about which our government need be concerned is that of our security. That interest we can safeguard only, but easily, with an adequate navy.

By disavowing the role of a purifier of Latin-American elections, finances, and police administration, and allowing our interests there to take their chances under local government, we can earn the friendship and goodwill of these countries for respecting their sovereignty, independence, and autonomy. At the same time, our fleet can dominate these countries as regards a European intervention, and our capitalists can dominate them economically as long as they choose to maintain extreme laissez faire. Should they abandon laissez faire and turn socialist, or extreme economic chauvinists, as Mexico has done and other republics are showing signs of doing, we should let them freely go their way as long as they make no move to invite European intervention. And if, as is most unlikely, they make such a move, we should check it by bringing to bear our diplomacy, backed by our potential armed might, against the European party to such possible intervention.

About twenty-five years ago, our statesmen, naive in diplomacy and world politics, conceived the small-town idea that the Caribbean nations had to be good to avoid European intervention and that, because of this moral imperative, we had to make them good with financial and military interventions. As any worldly wise person ought to know, world powers intervene when, where, and because, the intervention is good, and not when, where, and because, the intervention is bad and might, on that account, be deemed to merit a foreign intervention. About everything bad that a nation could conceivably do to the detriment of foreign interests, the Russian Soviet Government has done.

But no foreign intervention has been made, or even seriously contemplated, for the excellent reason that, in Russia, the intervening would not be so good.

On the other hand, in Morocco, Manchuria and Ethiopia, the intervening may be called good and easy—or in Haiti or Nicaragua, for that matter. What makes the intervening good is not weakness of their morals or financial probity, but the weakness of their power of armed resistance, and the absence of opposition by the great powers to an intervention.

We no longer, need to mention officially the Monroe Doctrine. We might even expressly renounce it by way of flattering our Latin-American neighbors. The size and efficiency of our fleet will say to Europe all that the Monroe Doctrine was ever meant to say. And a big fleet will say it with a delicacy which will not offend Latin America and with an explicitness which will not be misunderstood in Europe. The Monroe Doctrine, after all, was but a crude substitute for a big navy in the days when we could not afford a big navy.

What made the substitute work in those days was the big British navy. As for economic security, here again we find our imperatives largely dictated by foreign powers and not our own choosing. The world has in prospect an era of increasingly closed economies. Why this is true, why the counter arguments of classical economics and free trade are wholly irrelevant and are being disregarded by prevailing public policies, and why we cannot change this trend, could only be explained in another book the size of this one. But an explanation of the inevitability of this trend today seems about as superfluous as an explanation of the inevitability of old age. The thing for nations or elderly people to think about today is adjustment in the most satisfactory manner to inevitable changes.

Adjustment to the imperatives of increasingly closed economies the world over, fortunately, is easier for the United States than for any other nation, because our import necessities are fewer and our near-monopolies in exports like cotton, tobacco and certain manufactures, are more important than those of any other country. With our resources for domestic needs and for export, we can feel reasonably confident of always being able to sell abroad enough to pay for our necessary imports of commodities like coffee, tin, rubber, silk, jute and tropical fruits which we cannot economically produce ourselves.

The making of these new adjustments will involve a series of barter arrangements and quota agreements, under which provisions will be made for the exchange of given quantities of American exports of specified commodities for a counter value of given quantities of imports of specified commodities. Within the framework of such a system of agreements, or controlled exports and imports, private interests in this country will have scope for considerable competition and initiative. The governing principles will be procurement of necessary imports; provision for necessary exports to balance the international accounts; protection of domestic industry, that is to say, of the domestic wage scale and the domestic investment; the relative immunization of the national economy from external disturbances, especially those incidental to large wars; and the achievement of a diversified national production affording the maximum economic self-sufficiency obtainable without unreasonable economic costs and sacrifices.

The ruling liberal, laissez-faire principle for foreign trade, namely that of dumping in order to stimulate domestic production and increase the nation's holdings of foreign investments, must, obviously, be discarded in a world of increasingly closed economies. Our present foreign

investments, especially those in foreign securities or credits, must be counted as largely lost under the regime of closed economies, except in so far as counter-values of foreign-held investments in this country make it possible for American investors in foreign securities to collect foreign credits, or except in so far as Americans residing abroad are prepared to take payment in kind.

The American Government should do nothing to impair the foreign obligations held by its citizens. But it should do nothing involving the slightest national economic loss or inconvenience to enable the holders of foreign investments to collect. The economic relations between nations in the future must be on a pay-as-you-go basis, with the yearly international accounts or payments in even balance by the movements of goods and services. We do not want our national economy to collect goods from abroad in return for no corresponding exports of our goods or services, but merely in return for the cancellation of American claims against foreigners. We want a goods-or-service dollar exported for every goods-or-service dollar imported, excluding interest as a service item.

It seems unnecessary to attempt here an explanation of how State control of investment will operate. Obviously it will not be one hundred per cent effective or inclusive. But it can easily be made effective enough to reduce capital exports to a negligible quantity, which is all that is desired.

The reasons why foreign loans can never be repaid were explained at some length in my "Is Capitalism Doomed?", so I shall not restate them here. The repudiation of War debts and the wholesale defaults on foreign bonds since the writing of that book in 1931 should make it unnecessary to give added proof of this obvious fact. Foreign loans are good as long as the lending countries re-lend each year the amount of interest income, as England has done consistently

(except during brief periods of temporary misfortune, like war) during her entire history of foreign lending. It is clearly absurd from the point of view of national interest to export goods and services for foreign paper which can never be redeemed in goods and services. With communism and wholesale repudiations the current realities, it can no longer be held that a foreign obligation or property right, represented by a piece of paper, is the equivalent of a domestically-located piece of property. The nation is not the richer for its physical wealth held abroad, and the individual American is not the richer for his savings exported for a foreign piece of paper, the value of which is likely to be cancelled by repudiation, default, communism, or excessive taxation.

By way of justifying public policy in not making sacrifices of national interest to secure or facilitate payment on foreign investments, it should be pointed out that to sacrifice national interest to enable an American investor to collect a foreign loan is not a whit different in any essential respect from taxing the people to make good any ordinary business or investment loss suffered in this country.

It seems superfluous to undertake a lengthy refutation of the liberal argument that any restriction placed on international trade by public policy makes for international friction and war. To refute briefly that argument, it need only be said that trade competition is always warfare between private economic interests of different nations competing for each other's markets, and that such private economic warfare is more provocative of warfare between the respective governments involved than a process of adjustment of international trade exchanges by direct agreements between governments. It is far less likely to contribute to a war between governments to have the United States government inform various groups of

American exports producers how much they can export and get paid for, than to have them either suffer or inflict a crushing defeat in free international trade competition.

It remains only to discuss briefly the subject of what is here called special foreign policies. Of these, fortunately, we have fewer than the European powers. Our Asiatic immigration exclusion policy is one of these policies. Our open-door-in-China policy is another. Most European colonial policies and military alliances may be classed in this category. Such policies are not strictly necessary for national defense or economic security. These are the policies which furnish most of the immediate causes of war. And these are the policies in respect to which it is possible to make most concessions or concessions with the greatest of ease. At the same time, it is extremely easy to inflame public opinion to violent self-assertion in respect to these policies.

It is a curious insensibility to reality, or a gross insincerity, which has made professed peace lovers since Versailles confine their pursuit of peace mainly to endeavors at concession-seeking in the fields of policies deemed by their champions essential either to national defense or economic security-about all the pacifists talk about is disarmament and tariff reduction-while these peace lovers have completely avoided advancing any significant proposals about those special policies in respect to which concession could easily have been made by the privileged. Indeed, such concession would have served to save the underprivileged from a desperation which, sooner or later, can only produce war.

The United States is fortunate in having few of these special policies. Oriental exclusion and the open door in China are about the only important examples. The Monroe Doctrine is no longer to be considered a special policy but rather an accepted imperative of our national defense and of

the existing balance of power.

In respect to the special policy of oriental exclusion, it is not to be expected that American opinion will tolerate any fundamental concession. But this intransigence might easily be compensated for in fact by rational and gracious acquiescence in Japanese expansion in northern China, and in renunciation of our open-door policy for China. We should this be conceding little that is not already lost, or little that is worth much to us.

At the same time, we should be giving something of great subjective value to the Japanese.

The diplomacy of the great powers of Europe fairly bristles with special policies which could be modified almost to any extent without involving any impairment of the national defense or economic security of the cession—and concession-granting great powers.

England, for instance, though she could not make disposition of territory or economic advantages affecting vitally the self-governing British commonwealths like Canada, Australia, South Africa or New Zealand, could easily and safely make enormous cessions of territory, and concessions of special privileges and opportunities, in her crown colonies, and in India, to help countries like Germany and Italy solve some of their problems, including particularly the problem of what to do with the out-elite. France has African colonies, one of which has far more Italian than French colonists, with respect to which all sorts of concessions could be made without detriment to French military or economic security. England and France, also, have special policies involving military alliances or understandings with countries in central and Eastern Europe which are in no sense essential or even useful, for the greater part, to the national defense or economic security of either power.

France has little to offer or to receive in political, cultural or commercial intercourse with the Balkan, central and eastern European succession States of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire, or with Poland. Yet France insists on trying, more or less ineffectually, to maintain a military and financial influence over these countries paramount to that of any other great power. France, being herself a nearly self-sufficient agricultural country, does not want or need the agricultural products of these preeminently agricultural countries.

These poor and undeveloped States with a peasant economy (except for parts of Czechoslovakia) have no business importing heavily of French wines, perfumes, or luxury goods, and luxury French professionals.

France, having no surplus population for export, is not in a position to send to these backward nations the essential technicians and skilled mechanics which they need. If France were attacked by Germany, these new allies would prove more of a liability than an asset. In short, there are no substantial bases of mutually advantageous and complementary commercial, financial, military, or migration collaboration between France and Poland, or France and the central and eastern European States making up the Little Entente. Yet France foolishly pursues the objective of a political hegemony over these States, instead of orientating French diplomacy towards a series of mutually advantageous deals with Germany which might lay the foundations of a prolonged European peace.

Germany, on the other hand, having an industrial surplus and an agricultural shortage, as well as surplus business enterprisers, technicians, and skilled laborers, for export, has every condition needed for a series of useful commercial, financial, and demographic relationships with these succession States over which French influence aims to be

dominant. Germany needs these countries, and they need her. The political formulas for permitting the satisfaction of these needs have yet to be worked out. The chief objective of the liberal statesmanship of the Allied countries since the War has been to prevent the realization of any such formulas, which is just another one of the many reasons why liberalism is doomed.

Briefly, then, England and France could easily make cessions and concessions to Germany and Italy, but England and France could not, jointly or separately, win a war against the fascist governments of Germany and Italy, for the excellent reason that England and France cannot possibly restore liberal government where it has fallen, or where it never existed and where its chances of coming into healthy being are less today than ever before. If an Anglo-French military expedition were to be entirely successful in a military way against Mussolini and Hitler, it would be faced with the dilemma of having to maintain a perpetual military occupation or else make peace with, or relinquish the occupied territory to, the communists.

Liberalism and international finance are no longer in a position to finance ‘a liberal regime anywhere with a stream of foreign loans. Besides, the temper of possible liberal leaders and of the people about such leaders in the now fascist countries can be said to render any liberal restoration well-nigh unthinkable. The choices everywhere are fascism or communism, and an Anglo-French demarche in Europe which put communism in power could hardly be considered by those in power in England or France today as a victory for their side.

What is needed in a near future to save western civilization from communism and chaos is the coming to power in England and France, as well as in the United States, of fascist minded leaders, who will change the entire

orientation of foreign policy in those two leading European countries. The bases of long peace and helpful international relations must be laid in a statesmanship and diplomacy of realism, rational calculation of costs and probabilities, and honest recognition that there is no right which is not enforced by might.

Are the rights of the privileged nations of England and France, and the States which depend for their existence on the protection of these two powers, worth the costs of attempts at their maintenance in another war which only communism and chaos stand a chance of winning? Or is a new deal, based on a more accurate adjustment to the force and need factors, indicated? Here fascism and liberalism join issue.

An early fascist trend in the United States is needed to save us from being drawn into another wild adventure by the decrepit statesmen now at the helm in England and France, ostensibly to uphold certain rights of England and France and their dependent States of Europe, but actually to plunge Europe into world revolution and chaos. Our Anglophile and Francophile American liberals should recall, in their present reactions to events in Europe, that some twenty-odd years ago they got us into a fifty-billion-dollar war to deliver Germany from Kaiser William and prepare it for Adolf Hitler, who is much farther from the green pastures of liberalism than any Hohenzollern.

These same misguided, emotional, irrational, and frequently hysterical, American liberals with ideas on foreign affairs are now about ready to try to lead us into another crusade to oust Hitler to make place for a communist, who will be still farther from liberalism than Hitler. Liberal leadership everywhere in the world today is flogging the same dead horses of liberal issues which have been definitely lost. Liberalism had its great holy war under

Lloyd George, Woodrow Wilson and Clemenceau. The holy war has been lost. Surely there is enough common sense among the peoples (and, more particularly, among the in elite of the liberal nations of America, Britain and France), to turn from liberalism before it drags the world into another holy war to uphold certain principles and a status quo, which, incidentally, are inseparable, and which the trend of social forces moving in flood tide since Versailles has been steadily undermining. Only the fascization of the now liberal great powers can save us from another holy war to make the world safe for liberalism, or, rather to hand it over to the Red army of Russia, which is the largest and most fanatical military force in the field.

NATIONAL SYNDICAL AMERICAN FALANGE PARTY

What We Want

1. **W**e want an end to the exploitation of the working man, an end to the IRS and an end to the Federal Reserve System.

2. We want a return to the Silver System, where American dollars are backed by silver and not hot air.

3. We want an end to the Materialistic, Hedonistic, Selfish and Carnal emphasis that a certain element places on our Society.

4. We want a return to Traditional Values with an emphasis on God, Family and Country.

5. We want an end to the corrupt politicians who promise to do the will of the People and after being elected do the will of Big Business and Capitalism.

6. We want to retard the spread of Urban Sprawl, where valuable farmlands and forests are being replaced by factories, housing developments and apartment buildings.

7. We want the unification of all the Countries in North, Central and South America into a Confederation of Falangist States, so that we can pool together all of our natural resources and manpower into a Greater America.

8. We want an end to Racism and Separatism that seeks to divide and alienate the American People.

9. We want a One Portal entrance to all X rated web sites, so that parents only have to block one web address to prevent their children from viewing pornography or other objectionable material, such as Hate and Racist sites. Yes it can be done.

10. We want to put an end to abortion, legal or otherwise.

Any doctor who performs an abortion will be charged with murder.

11. We want to put an end to the euthanasia movement that is taking hold in this country. We will do everything in our power, working with the medical, religious and scientific community to alleviate the pain and suffering of the elderly and terminally sick. We will not on the other hand allow them to be put to sleep like animals.

12. We want all Americans to have the right to own fully automatic assault weapons, as we feel that it would be the greatest deterrent to an oppressive government and rising crime. The founding Fathers of this Country intended it to be so.

13. We want to take the gangs of youths in our cities, train them, put them in uniforms and put them to use. Young people need a sense of belonging, identity and purpose. The Falangist Party can give them that. We will institute a program of competing Falangist Youth Groups to clean, build, plant and help to create the Greater America we envision.

14. We believe in the worth of every human as being of use to the greater whole. We want to make every person, no matter how handicapped that person is, to be of some worth to society and to feel that they are contributing, even if they are deaf, dumb, blind and cripple. Everyone is worth something and can serve a purpose.

15. We want to put the Bible, the Ten Commandments and Prayer back in schools. We want the students to be taught that the Christian ethic is the highest ideal reachable by man.

16. Nothing brings people together quite like a good meal. The Falangist Party will encourage a monthly Community Supper, where Americans of all ethnic backgrounds can get

together to share their different foods and fellowship together. It's hard to hate someone after you have shared a meal together.

17. We want, no, we demand an end to the discrimination by certain government officials and departments against minority farmers. In particular black farmers. It's a national disgrace the way black farmers in this country are treated like second class citizens. The Falange supports the farmers of America in general, but especially minority farmers who have it twice as rough to make ends meet. We want private farmers to receive interest free loans regardless of their race. The Falange cannot place enough emphasis on the importance of the farmer. More than any other occupation the farmer is most esteemed to the Falangist Party, because without food we die, without the farmer America dies.

18. We want to put an end to the taxation of property for our elderly citizens of modest means. That is to say that a person works all their life and then retires on a modest income or social security they shouldn't have their property confiscated and sold because they couldn't pay their taxes. But on the other hand a retiree who gets a monthly income for example of $100,000 a month should still pay property tax.

WARRIOR SPIRIT

from the ***National Syndical American Falange Party***

by William C. Moore

THE U.S. MILITARY is having a hard time finding and keeping good men. Despite retention bonuses of $60,000 and more, this year the Air Force will again suffer an excessive loss of trained pilots. Naval aviation faces a similar situation. The Army has failed to meet its recruiting goals for many occupational specialties, including some in the combat arms, even with offers of extremely generous incentives. More graduates of our service academies and military colleges are choosing not to pursue a military career. The mainstream media and professional military journals are filled with stories about pervasive low morale affecting the readiness and capabilities of our forces.

The issue is not money, plenty of which has been thrown at the problem. Neither does the problem stem from too many deployments, family separations or lack of so-called quality-of-life programs. Soldiers like to go and do what soldiers are trained to do. They understand that hardships are part of the work they have chosen, and most will tell you that the best "quality of life" program is to keep their aircraft or tanks running and give them the ammunition and fuel so that they can train and deploy. Nor is it the lure of the economy and all the good jobs out there. The willingness to sacrifice is still an attribute of the soldier's life. Military families understand what soldiers really need, and although more money and better housing are important,

those are not what drives the soldier to want to "be all he can be."

Part of the problem, in fact, is that many of the current military leaders do not see the real problem. You can't fool the troops; they know that the military as an institution is being eroded. The American military culture, established through two centuries of tradition, is under attack like it has never been before. The warrior is being overtaken by the technologist, and in the pursuit of opportunity for all, the fighting elites are now being targeted as no longer relevant to accomplishing the objectives of war.

In fact, war itself is losing its meaning among the current crop of both uniformed and civilian leaders. Few of them fought in any of the "dirty wars," like World War II, Korea or Vietnam, and their vision of U.S. national security regards the possibility of war as a remote one—after all, the U.S. has no "peer competitor" against which to fight a war.

The word war has become almost unspeakable. Now it is heard most often in the context of "operations other than war." To be sure, many such operations are valid applications of U.S. military strength in support of national security objectives. But they do not fulfill what soldiers see as their reason for being.

Soldiers see their relevance as warriors being questioned. They are told that the technologists are going to give them an easy way to fight, that "situational awareness" is more important than weapons systems, that simulation is a substitute for field training. Fascination with technology is leading to a silver-bullet mentality and a belief that anyone can be a warrior—just put the cursor on the target on your computer screen and click the mouse. Despite all the rhetoric about all that is being done for the warrior, those who want to be real warriors feel betrayed. They signed on to be part of the force that clashes with and destroys the

enemy. They know the risks of war, but never expected that wanting to be warriors would pose a risk to their military careers.

Military leaders, it seems, have been co-opted by social engineers whose agenda is to promote "equality" rather than to prepare forces for the next war. Anyone can be a warrior if standards are lowered enough, and silver-bullet technology turns warfare into just another video game anyone can "play." This attitude toward the warrior ethos is pervasive and dangerous.

There is no question that training standards have been lowered. The Army has discontinued Basic Combat Training for all new soldiers, replacing it with Initial Entry Training, with less-demanding physical standards so as to accommodate women. A change like this bothers the warrior, because he wants to be respected as the best in his business and that doesn't start with norming qualifications and selection to the least common denominator.

No longer do the best-qualified officers necessarily get promoted. The Army's new Officer Personnel Management System, known as OPMS 21, probably removed the last vestige of that "discriminator." The Army now bases promotion on its functional needs rather than picking its best, a system contrary to motivating officers to perform to their very highest ability.

And graduation from a service academy no longer affords officers an advantage in appointment to the regular force. This diminishes the motivation to compete for a service academy appointment or earn a distinguished military graduate designation—achievements that should be taken as early indicators of a stronger intent to serve our country. This change sends a very negative message to those who early in life saw soldiers as their role models and were motivated to apply that extra effort required to enter and

remain in a program that formerly provided a regular commission from the start of their careers.

Warriors join and stay because they know that they are special and that not everyone can do their jobs. They are leaving now because their leaders have created an environment that doesn't appreciate them as special—as an elite that is not open to everyone. Warriors leave because they don't like the lowering of standards, and they are offended at being given the cookie-cutter treatment. They are tired of being told that their unit rituals are outside the behavior "norms" and that in the new workplace some of the traditions of the warrior are now considered "incorrect" conduct. The old airborne and fighter-pilot attitude just doesn't fit anymore, because it is seen as "exclusionary."

The ethos of being a warrior is disappearing-unit esprit built around "bonding" between warriors is now disparaged as an irrelevant concept and one that only serves to rationalize politically incorrect behavior and policies. Toughness and courage are born out of esprit, but that doesn't count for much anymore.

We, as a nation, seem to have lost sight of why we "raise, train and maintain" a military force and that one of the basic precepts of the Constitution is to "provide for the common defense." We've gotten so sophisticated that simple truths and principles are always suspect. Our noble military institutions, culture and life have become the targets of cultural warriors. There is an aura of self-righteousness about their activities—they are afraid that there is a broadening gap between "society" and the military, that some of us are "extremists" and flaunt it by wearing fancy uniforms, and that if we get "out of touch" we will not be able to serve our country's objectives.

Such arrogance. We withstood scorn during the Vietnam War and came back to fight and win the Gulf War. The

military has character and strength, and it is going to take a wealth of both to prevail in the attack it is now undergoing. We need soldiers of courage to stand up for the institution and prevent it from becoming another laboratory for all the "correct" causes that are consuming our society. We need warriors with the strength to say no to those who don't understand the military.

It's not about money. It's about preserving the institution that produces the warriors who have always been there when they were called.

Mr. Moore is a retired U. S. Army Major General

A CALL FOR REAL AMERICA TO JOIN THE FALANGE

from the ***National Syndical American Falange Party***

IF YOU FEEL sick and tired with the way things are going in this country and want to do something about it, then consider the AFP. If you feel the right wing Conservatives are too liberal and the neo-Nazis are too radical for you, then consider a third way, the AFP.

~ WE BELIEVE ~

1. The Workers be represented in government by National Syndicates.

2. The Nationalization of Banks.

3. The Citizen's Right to keep and bear arms.

4. Abortion is Murder.

5. Homosexuality is an unnatural lifestyle and public displays of it should be against the law.

6. Racism and Anti—Semitism are wrong and Nationally divisive.

7. Nationalism and Social Justice go hand in hand.

8. The Moslem religion is a real threat and enemy to Christian civilization.

9. Socialism is a real threat and enemy to Western civilization.

10. Free Masonry is incompatible with Orthodox Christianity.

11. The aggressive deportation of all illegal immigrants.

12. Use of the National Guard to keep out illegal

immigrants and drugs.

13. A person must have a working knowledge of English to become a citizen.

14. Spanish may be the second language of America but English must always be first.

15. Foreign Aid must go to American countries above all others.

16. Any American company that moves to another country should not be allowed to sell those products in the U.S.A.

17. The U.S. should get out of the United Nations and the U.N. out of the United States.

18. The abolishment of the Federal Reserve and a return to the Silver Standard.

19. Freedom of the Press does not include pornography.

20. Freedom of Religion does include prayer in school if the People want it.

21. America always has been and must remain a dominantly Christian Nation.

22. Eradication of the insanity known as Political Correctness.

23. Capital Punishment for Capital Crimes.

24. Separate prisons for violent and nonviolent criminals.

25. Labor Camps for repeat offenders.

26. No welfare for able bodied workers.

27. Death sentence for child rapists.

28. The immediate Liberation of Cuba by any means necessary.

29. The support and preservation of Private Property, Farms and Business.

30. The total American commitment to the defense of

Nationalist
China.

31. The respect and preservation of Regional Culture, Heritage and Symbols.

32. Police have the Right to use deadly force to quell rioting and looting.

33. The re-institution of the draft.

34. A Falangist type of military. Tough, Strong, Disciplined and Nationalistic.

35. American citizens have more rights than non citizens.

36. No American Veteran should be Hungry or Homeless.

37. Americans have the right to be safe from crime.

38. Unlimited Presidential terms. If the voters want to keep the President, he stays.

39. Equal rights for all Americans, Special rights for none.

40. A National drive to instill Spiritual Values over materialistic values.

41. Creationism and Judeo—Christian values must be taught in our schools.

42. The immediate creation of a Lunar Space Colony and launch pad facility.

43. The aggressive colonization and conquest of the planet Mars within 25 years.

44. Criticizing a Jewish organization or Israel is not Anti—Semitism.

45. Criticizing the NAACP or a Black politician is not Racism.

46. Calling homosexuality wrong is not being Homophobic.

"Fairness to all, Favoritism to none"

* * *

I would like to here point out an extreme example of the cultural differences which influence Fascist doctrine throughout the world. The reader will note that in statement number four of the immediately preceding text titled 'We Believe', which is one of the statements comprising the official manifesto of the National Syndicalist American Falange Party, abortion is definitely condemned, whereas, in the book titled 'Fascism, The Total Society' there is a manifesto which promotes freedom of abortion rights by the National Integralist Front.

The manifesto of the National Integralist Front is, in fact, the only Fascist manifesto I have ever found which endorses the 'right' to abortion and euthanasia. Cultural beliefs as well as tangible problems in the originating nations differ. The National Integralist Front is trying to address the problems of over population in England, while the National Syndicalist American Falange Party is a fine reflexion of the customs of North America where overpopulation is not such a dire issue.

AMERICAN FASCIST MOVEMENT

Fascist Movement from the ***American***

'WE KNOW THE movement consists of a variety of thinkers. But to truly be a Fascist, one must understand what Fascism is and is not. The AFM platform below debunks the myths of Fascism while providing a clear and concise overview on the fundamentals of Fascism which all Fascists universally agree upon.'

WHAT FASCISM IS NOT:

RACISM OR NAZISM:

Races, though unique are equal; individuals however are not. Regardless of color, men are not created the same yet each may use his or her unique talents for virtue.

MATERIALISM:

Fascism does not see history as class struggle, and denies that there is nothing to life, and power politics except what one can put in one's mouth or pocket.

GLOBALISM:

Internationalist institutions (economic, hegemonic or other) cannot be allowed to erode the freedom and sovereignty of nations.

The integrity of all cultures must be preserved.

CAPITALISM OR COMMUNISM:

Both Capitalism and Communism are materialist systems

that promote degeneracy and crush the human spirit. They consider nothing but man's basest instincts, but man cannot live on peace, land and bread alone.

SUPERFICIALITY:

Democracy has become inevitably, a popularity contest. Innovative candidates are prevented from rising for fear of their being "unelectable." Who wins? Democrat or Republican, its the same man every time, the one deemed sufficiently bland for mass consumption, or worse: a flashy name with nothing behind it! No wonder we have become apathetic and cynical!

WHAT FASCISM IS:

MERITOCRACY OR TIMOCRACY:

The degree of which men and women manifest honor and merit in the service of their country is determinant of their place in civil society.

SACRIFICE:

"Fascism now and always believes in holiness and heroism, that is to say in actions influenced by no economic motive, direct or indirect."

NATIONALISM:

"Everything in the state, nothing outside the state, nothing against the state." OR "Ask not what your country can do for you but what you can do for your country!"

COOPERATION OR STATE CORPORATISM:

Though private property and free trade must be upheld and defended, business ultimately serves the greater good of

the state, and must be guided towards JUST and NOBLE purposes.

VIRTUE:

If there is such a thing as "good" and "evil", if there is such a thing as a right and a wrong way, is the right way always the popular way, the way a majority votes? No! Usually not. The majority votes the easy way. The path of least resistance, and is thus exploited by the current elite. Fascism alone has the moral courage to do the right thing. For the state, no matter what. Above all a Fascist believes in virtue and will thus tell you the truth, and not just what you want to hear! Truth, courage, integrity!

* * *

The following is an example of the Fascist spirit. Though, in regard to the masses Fascists comprise a small minority, they are much closer to the people and to the mind of the people in their respective nations.

Fascists are people who not only feel the same way as the masses, but also talk the talk and live within the day to day world of the common man and woman in their particular societies. Adherents to Fascist ideology are an accurate mirror of the concerns, the dreams and the hopes, the aspirations, and the desires of the people. That which is whispered in alleys, the work place, and in those private moments with friends and family is shouted out publically by the Fascists.

The Fascist, while being a 'man of the people', is not the people, as the people only want for things in their lives to improve and are afraid that taking energetic action will upset their lives and families more that they already are; the Fascist is a person who cannot remain still in the face of curable problems and issues which beset their people.

There is one thing that is understood and valued by Fascists above all other virtues, it is the innate spiritual value within their own ranks of the concept of 'self sacrifice'. They always face the risk of losing everything, their jobs, social status, their freedom, whenever they rise up and step forward to take a public stance. The documents which follow are a perfect exhibition of this.

NATIONAL SYNDICALIST PARTY—USA

from the ***National Syndicalist Party—USA***

Welcome Comrades!

DO YOU REMEMBER when America had the best standard of living in the world? Do you remember when you used to be able to go to work at a good old fashioned union shop and be able to retire with job security all your career and a real pension? Do you remember when corporations sought to please the consumer rather than themselves? Do you remember when there was a moral code to be followed in America?

I am afraid that many of us are too young to remember that time. Today America is literally falling apart at the ends, and there is little we can do about it. The abortion and eugenics movement is on the march, the world is heating up due to global warming, the entire Earth has been engulfed by a war, the economy of this nation and others is sinking, our superpower status is fast becoming a thing of the past, immigrants are flooding in and we have no welfare system to support them, jobs are moving overseas, we have an imbecile administration who could not even respond to a hurricane, and two feuding political parties that will never

come to a solution as long as they exist.

To be frank, America is living in a state of chaos, and it is only getting worse. Every day we hear that crime is on the rise, or that more people have died in the war.

Forget about what the media says though, because they are too busy pumping filth into the minds of our youth while they are at home, and of course this is only after a tough day of indoctrination at a failing school by the liberal academic elite. So we seem doomed, eh? Not so, because in April of 2006, a few lone patriots took it upon themselves to say, "Enough is enough."

Sure, some people have said that before, but usually they either say it to promote their own little agenda or just give up after a few months, not so with us. The National Syndicalist Party intends to fight on no matter what, we will not give up.

So you may be asking yourself, "What is national syndicalism anyway?" Well, the whole basis behind it is that everybody is organized into a vertical trade union. When you hear the word "trade union" it often conjures up images of socialism and mob ties, not with our trade union. What a vertical trade union does is it creates an umbrella for labor, much like the guild system of olden times. Instead of just being a little bargaining chip though, representing one side in a lopsided battle, this union builds a spirit, a link between the employer and the employee, all while keeping the spirit of the labor union alive.

Meanwhile, the Democratic Party and the unions that support it have become too much liberal and not enough laborite, that is the problem with the Democratic Party, liberalism.

The problem with the Republican Party is hypocrisy, they claim to be the party of moral leadership and while they

have some socially conservative positions, they are also clearly the party of a different kind of immorality, which is represented best in greed and materialism.

So what you have is a foolish left and a right fueled by nothing but love of money. We in the National Syndicalist Party consider ourselves to be neither left nor right. You have your far left, and your far right, but we consider ourselves to be the far center. I know that it may seem odd, but it is our combination of left wing and right wing principles that makes our politics most attractive to the common people.

What really separates us from the rest of the pack though, is the fact that we actually seek to do something about the thousands of problems that are facing America today. We seek to band together and form a Grand Ruling Coalition of parties of similar taste to eliminate the problems of the American people. We do recognize the reality that we will never achieve a utopia, however, we are committed to making this nation the best nation we can make it.

Imagine an America where the borders are secure, your job is secure, and a strong moral order permeates all sections of society. Can you imagine that? The National Syndicalist Party can imagine that, and we are ready and willing to work toward that great and glorious future for every man, woman, and child.

These are the most frequently asked questions with answers as posted to the public on the internet web page of the National Syndicalist Party—U.S.A.:

1. *Are you left-wing or right-wing?*

We do not consider ourselves to be left—wing or right-wing. Some people would actually qualify us as left-wing

and others would call us right-wing, really though, we are right down the middle. This does not make us moderate, it simply means that we combine left-wing and right-wing positions in such a way as to make us more centrist, but not just any centrists, we are the radical center!

2. *Are you racist?*

racist, that is true, but most of them existed in Europe in the 1930s, and no, the Nazi Party was not one of them, they are national socialism, not national syndicalism. We on the other hand are completely open to people of other races because we know that alienating entire groups leads to alienating the electorate.

3. *Are you isolationist?*

We believe that different nations have a right to self-determination, it is as simple as that. We do not believe that America should be parading around the world imposing its will on other nations. In the same sense, we also believe that justice must at times be delivered, for instance, intervening in a genocide, so no, we are not isolationist.

4. *Are you imperialist?*

We believe that America is the New Rome, but we also believe that her borders are fine as they are. We would not be opposed to uniting into one nation along with English speaking Canada, but we would only do this for the sake of resources, not for empire, and we would only do it by a vote of free will of the people.

5. *Do you advocate free enterprise or central planning?*

We advocate free enterprise, but our definition of free enterprise is different than most people's. To be short, we do not believe in laizzez-faire capitalism. Just simply allowing anything to go would be disastrous, at the same time, planning everything would stunt economic growth. We are the Third Way, neither capitalist nor socialist, but we do

believe in the basic tenants of free enterprise.

6. *Do you support dictatorship?*

You may have heard of a few dictators who called themselves national syndicalists, but we believe in a republican form of government, at least like we used to have. Now, we do admit that these dictators (like Franco for instance) did many great things, but we are opposed to their basic authoritarianism.

7. *What do you think of President Bush?*

Bush is a no-good scumbag who usurped more power than he deserved. He is a criminal and so is his administration. No leader deserves all the power he has taken for himself. We have not seen a democratic country fall to dictatorship so fast since the Weimar Republic became Nazi Germany.

8. *Do you advocate revolution?*

Despite the sorry state of America and its Democratic System, we feel that it is still the best way to get what we want, not armed revolution. The main reason of course is that it is peaceful and our party does not stand for killing people just to get our way. That can be left up to those in power, and we certainly won't sink to their level.

9. *Are you fascists?*

Yes, national syndicalism is a form of fascism, but really, is fascism just a synonym for dictatorship? Heavens no! Fascism is just another political ideology, and I will be the first to say that fascism has nothing to do with Hitler. Fascism is in fact based on the principles of the Roman government, and Hitler was part of the "Away-From-Rome" movement. To be simple, it is possible to separate Hitler and Mussolini from fascism.

10. *Are you a Christian party?*

We totally believe in separation of church and state, but

that does not mean a separation of God from government. This nation was founded on Western, Judeo-Christian principles, and that is the way it must stay. No amount of revisionist history on part of the liberal academic elite will ever convince us otherwise.

MANIFESTO OF THE NATIONAL SYNDICALIST PARTY—U.S.A.

WE ARE LIVING in an age of darkness and tyranny in America, and it is time for this to stop. Too often we fail to recognize the real problems so we do not know how to present a real solution. The National Syndicalist Party, on the other hand, has done much research into the roots of our problems and has decided that there must be a real answer to all these problems. So we have been able to lay out our manifesto, in twenty-five points we have laid it our, which are the following.

1. We believe in free enterprise, and that it is competitive markets that make the best friends of innovation. However, in recognizing this, we must understand that corporate conglomerates do not make for competitive markets.

2. We believe that America is the New Rome and it must fulfill its calling to be the single greatest nation on the face of the Earth.

3. We believe that America must be put first in all manner of foreign policy decisions, and that no other country should be given special treatment by the USA.

4. We believe that the flag is the symbol of America, and that anyone who burns it is doing the equivalent of burning the Constitution.

5. We believe that all workers must be organized into a vertical trade union, and that this union will be like a link between the employer and the employee.

6. We believe in an all-volunteer armed forces that is better paid, better trained, and better equipped then all the other armies of the world.

7. We believe that other nations and peoples have a right to self-determination and we do not have a right to interfere in its internal affairs unless in case of genocide.

8. We believe that we must bring an end about for the Federal Reserve and return to a silver standard immediately.

9. We believe that education is a human right and it must be comprehensive, at the same time, we feel that it must first and foremost remain a local matter.

10. We believe that Social Security must be saved for future generations, because there is no reason to make a gamble with your retirement.

11. We believe in a system that helps make sure that all who need healthcare get it, but also that ultimate decisions belong to you and your doctor.

12. We believe that this is a nation founded upon Western, Judeo-Christian values and that we must defend this civilization from outside attack.

13. We believe that we must be proactive in protecting the environment, while at the same time we must not damage free enterprise.

14. We believe that we need to achieve complete and total energy independence from foreign nations within ten years, and that this is best done through developing green fuels.

15. We believe that the economy can be strengthened through an extensive program of public-private partnerships that link the government with the people.

16. We call for the tax code to be simplified and replaced with a simple national sales tax of 15% and tariffs on foreign goods.

17. We believe that free trade has greatly damaged America and send many jobs overseas while making the Third World even poorer, instead we support fair trade.

18. We believe that we need to be proactive in enforcing our laws, and that among these laws are laws against illegal immigration. We must not cease the fight and employ more resources and quotas.

19. We believe that the government must repair our ailing infrastructure by pouring more resources into it, also, employing the unemployed in these public works projects.

20. We believe that there is in fact a New World Order and we must combat it, therefore we need to remove ourselves from the UN, NATO, and other NWO organizations.

21. We need to get to the root of violent crime once and for all, and that means that we need to punish violent criminals once and for all.

22. We call for an end to the abuse of eminent domain. Nowhere in the Constitution does it say that government can seize people's property for the sake of giving it to somebody else.

23. We believe in a cap of profits for some industries guilty of price gouging, most notably the oil industry, as well as a plan of profit sharing for these and other industries.

24. We believe that people have basic human rights and human needs, and that these human rights and needs must be respected here at home and around the world by the United States.

25. We believe in complete sanctity of the Bill of Rights and the United States Constitution, and that any attempt to distort their words for the sake of gaining political power is a form of treason.

(Special Note by the editor: For all those who are Fascistally inclined I strongly endorse and suggest that the sympathizer look into becoming a full member of the

National Syndicalist Party–USA—HRM)

Italo Balbo

Fascist Blackshirts gathered together with La Rochelle

Sir Oswald Mosley speaking to a crowd

British Union of Fascists march

Mexican Synarchists Saluting

Integralists in Brazil marching and saluting

Integralist Poster

INTEGRALISM

'The Essence of the Spiritual'
Codex Fascismo: Part Five

"Nobody has ever gotten anywhere by being 'moderate'.
Nobody has ever gotten anywhere by being 'nice'.
Nobody has ever gotten anywhere by being 'intellectual'.
Nobody has ever gotten anywhere by being 'respectable'."

Benjamin Noyles

"To the distressing problems settling across the entire nation, it is absolutely necessary that there is an organization comprised of true patriots, an organization working for the restoration of the fundamental rights of each citizen, which has as its highest goal the salvation of the fatherland."

Jose Antonio Urquiza

"It is not possible that there is a new State, a new community, or a new civilization without there first being a new kind of man, and because of this, Integralism preaches Inner Revolution, revolution of the spirit, change of attitude in the face of reality and of occurring issues and adversities, which must necessarily precede the outer revolution; revolution of the institutions which may under no circumstances be allowed to violate the freedom, the integrity, or the inviolability of the human personage; natural groups to which such free will belongs to best serve their 'rights' toward the fulfillment of their duties to their national society, of the family, and of the fatherland."

Plinio Salgado—Manifesto of Granabara

Codex Fascismo: Part Five

The following chapter is concerned primarily with the spirituality of Fascism; it is also meant to show yet another example of how Fascism differs in doctrine from one country and from one nation to another. The originating

ideology remains the same while the physical forms it assumes are tailored to each individual culture, with its traditions, customs, ethnicity or ethnic make up and are influenced by the regional issues that a particular people faces at the time.

Here I present two examples of Fascism. The first is Brazilian 'Integralism', the second is British 'Integralism'. While both forms use the same name, they differ greatly from one another. The Brazilian form, while being definitely Fascist, is a perfect example of Fascism as a mass movement, populist, and without a definite racial agenda. The British form is replete with ethnic concerns. Both, however, meet all of the essential requirements for being a fascism.

Within both the British and the Brazilian forms of Integralism is the underlying ethos of human spirituality. All fascisms are based on the spiritual rather than on the base materialism that is present throughout modern cosmopolitan bourgeois society.

The documents immediately following are from the Braziliam Integralism started in 1931 by Plinio Salgado. The original documents are available to the public in the Portuguese language on the web site: *Frente Integralismo Brasileira*. The second example of Integralist Fascism is to be found on the British web site: *Integralist Party of Great Britain and Northern Ireland*.

MANIFESTO OF OCTOBER 7, 1932

Interpretative translation by ***H. R. Morgan*** (2013)

'The Brazilian nation—
The working class of the country and to unions
—To the men of culture and thought—
To the youth and schools—and in the trenches of our armed classes!'

(I)

Conception of man and the Universe

GOD DIRECTS THE destinies of peoples. Man must practice on Earth the virtues that elevate and perfect. The man is *worthy of his work*, he sacrifices in favor of the family, of the fatherland and of society. Worth at study, by intelligence, for honesty, for progress in the sciences, in the arts, in technical ability, having finally the welfare of the nation and the moral elevamento of people. Wealth is well passenger, who did not serve anyone, provided they are not complied with by the holders duties which strictly enforces, to society and country. Everyone can and should live in harmony, respecting and cherishing others, each of which distinguishing themselves in their skills, because each man has his own vocation and is the set of those vocations that realizes the greatness of Nationality and social happiness.

Men and classes therefore can and should live in harmony. It is possible for the more modest worker climb *to* a high intellectual or financial position. Each should rise according to their *career or their calling*. All men are liable to social harmonisation and whole superiority comes from a superiority that exists only above men: their common and supernatural purpose. *It is deeply believed* Brazil *has*

historical Christian roots which are intimate to all our hearts.

II

As We Understand the Brazilian Nation

The Brazilian nation must be organized, *united*, indivisible, strong, powerful, rich, prosperous and happy. For this we need *for* all Brazilians *to be* United. But Brazil cannot *achieve an* intimate and perfect Union of their children, as long as there are States within the State, political parties *that divide* (fracionando) the nation, fighting classes classes, isolated individuals, exercising personal action in government decisions; *This further fractions* the Brazilian people. Therefore, the nation needs to organize itself *into* professional classes. Each Brazilian *should* enter in *their* class. These classes shall elect, *within thier own sphere*, its representatives in the municipal councils, Provincial congresses and General Meetings. Those elected to the municipal councils elect its President and the Mayor. Those elected to the Provincial Congress *shall elect* the Governor of the province. Those elected to the National Congress elect the head of the Nation, before which their Ministers *shall* respond *with an uninfluenced* choice.

III

The Principle of Authority

A nation, to prosper in peace, to see *its* efforts bear fruit, for achieving prestige *both* within and abroad, needs to *be* fully aware of the principle of authority. We need Authority able to take initiatives for the benefit of each and every one; *to not allow for the defacto rulership by the rich*, the powerful, the foreigners, the political groups *preventing them from*

exerting influence on Government decisions, *which undermine* the fundamental interests of the nation. *We need* hierarchy, discipline, without which there will be disorder. A Government that comes out of the free will of all classes is representative of *the* Fatherland: as such ***it*** should be supported, respected, esteemed and prestigious. *Upon it* must rest the trust of the people. It should be provided *with* the means to maintain social justice, harmony of all the classes, *and it must always seek* the best interests of the collectivity. *A trusted* hierarchy, order, peace, respect, here's what we need in Brazil.

IV

Our Nationalism

The cosmopolitanism, i.e. foreign influence, is an evil *which is* death for our nationalism *and our nation. It is our duty to combat it. But, this does not mean a policy of* bad will towards the friendly Nations, *or to* the children of other countries, *who work here aiming toward* the advancement of the Brazilian nation and whose descendants are integrated into *the lives of the Brazilian people.* We refer to the customs, which are rooted mainly in our bourgeoisie, *and in this current civilization having been brought here from Europe and the United States.* Our homes are impregnated with foreign loanwords; our lectures, our way of looking at life, are no longer. The Brazilians of the cities don't know *of* the thinkers, writers, national poets. *They try to shame* the caboclo and the black*s* of our land. *They have acquired* cosmopolitan habits. *They* don't know *of* all the difficulties and all the heroics, all *the* suffering and all the aspirations, the dreams, the energy, the courage of the Brazilian people. *It is covered over by ironies (*baldões) to belittle the races (proviemos). Live to enhance all that is outside, despising all

national initiatives. Having given us an inadequate political regime, *they prefer to blame* the disasters of the Country, *blaming* the Brazilian *people*, rather than *to* admit that the regime is incapable *and incompetant*. Sceptical, disillusioned, weary of pleasures, all who speak these powerful *words* or those great and petty bourgeoisie, *distilling* a poison that erodes the soul of youth. Creating ethnic prejudices originating from countries that want to dominate us. *Despising* all our traditions. *And seeking* to *inculcate and spread* the immorality of manners. We are against the pernicious influence of this *pseudo-civilization* (pseudo-civilização), we want to standardize. And we are against the influence of communism, representing the Soviet Russian imperialism, capitalism, which aims to reduce us to a *dominion*. *Thus arrises* a great nationalist movement, to affirm the value of Brazil and of everything that is useful and beautiful in character and in Brazilian customs; to unite all Brazilians in one spirit: the Amazon, the Northeast, tapuio the backcountry of Northern and central provinces, the caiçaras and piraquaras, Cowboys, calús, capichabas, paroaras, garimpeiros, calungas, cattlemen and drovers of Mines, Goiás, Mato Grosso; settlers, ranchers, aggregates, small craftsmen of São Paulo; ervateiros of Paraná and Santa Catarina; the Gauchos of the pampas; the working class of all regions; the youth of the schools; traders, industrialists, farmers; teachers, artists, officials, doctors, lawyers, engineers, workers of all railways; the soldiers, the sailors— all who still have at heart *their greatest love and enthusiasm* for Brazil. We must rely on our glorious traditions, we must affirm as a people, United and strong, that nothing *can divide us*. Nationalism for us is not only the cult of flag and National Anthem; is the deep awareness of our needs, of character, of the trends, of the aspirations of the fatherland and of the value of a people. This is a great campaign we

undertake.

V

We, the Parties, and the Government

We, Brazilians from all provinces, propose to create a culture, a civilization, a genuinely Brazilian way of life. We want to create a public right, according to our realities and aspirations, a Government that guarantees the unity of all provinces, the harmony of all classes, the initiatives of all individuals, the supervision of the State, *and)* national construction. Therefore, our ideal does not allow us to enter into *collusion* with regional parties, *you may* recognize these parties; *but,* we recognize the nation.

While we *can forsee an organized Brazil*, without the evil of selfish partisanships, *a* Brazilian State *that represents and expresses all of the classes*, *steering* the nation *through the wisdom and guidence* of its elites, we will not rest, *we will actively persue this end.*

Our homeland can no longer be *dissected* by the Governors of States, by the parties, by classes in struggle, by the warlords. Our Country needs to be united and strong, solidly built, in order to escape foreign *domination*, *which is a daily threat, and save ourselves from international communism that invades the (national and social) body like a cancer.* Therefore, *we do not collaborate with any* party organization which aims to divide Brazilians. *We* repeat the phrase from *the* legendary Osorio, when *he was* writing of the fields of Paraguay, saying it did not recognize parties because they divided the nation *which* must be cohesive in times of peril. We swear today, *a united fidelity*, fidelity to the fate of this generation. *Those who are intellectually capable of doing so should execute the will of our political thought*, or *else* we, Brazilian *Integralists*, will *spontaneously*

declare *ourselves* outcasts, *decrying openly* the phony political life of the nation, until the day *comes when we have numbers* so *large* that we will restore our rights of citizenship, and *by* the strength of that number we can conquer the power of the Republic. So, we March *onward into* the future and nothing will stop us, *because with us marches the consciousness* of the nation and the honor of Brazil.

VI

What We Think of Conspiracies and Politicking of Groups and Factions

We *are* enemies of all conspiracies, of all the plots, *the defacto power brokers* (confabulações), *and* insurrections. Our campaign is cultural, moral. educational, social, *without prevarications and concealing distractions, with our heads held high and demonstrating our principles in the light of day. Those who exhibit their principles have no need to cospire and combine with the parties of darkness. Those who* march on behalf of *clear and well defined ideas have no need for masks.* Our homeland is miserably *cut apart by conspiracies.* Politicians and Governments deal with ***t****he 'special 'interest groups, and thusly they conspire together.* We preach loyalty, frankness, *freedom of speech*, *openess of opinion and discussion and debate in the realm of ideas (open debate)* in the realm of ideas. The (confabulações) *criminalistic* politicians are (desfibrando) *dismantling* the character of the Brazilian people. *The lack of appropriately effective programs revolve around the people and the military due to an incompetant government.* All of its programs are the same and these men are *out of contact* for reasons of personal and group interests. Therefore, some plot against each other. And, meanwhile, the Communist plot against all. We preach

honesty and courage. We are united by the (belief in) Brazil, *in the* family, in *private* property; by *desire for the* organization and legitimate representation of the classes; by religious morality; *believeing in* the direct participation of the intellectuals in the Government of the Republic; by the abolition of the *pseudo-States* within the State; for a beneficial policy of Brazil in South America; by a nationalist campaign against the influence of the Imperialist countries, and, without *making a* truce against Russian communism. We are the revolution *that is on the march.* But *we are* the revolution with ideas. Honest, loyal and courageous.

VII

The Social Question as Regards Brazilian Integralism

The social question should be resolved by cooperation *(a collective synarchy—HRM)* of all, as *the desire for justice* that each nourishes *and wishes* to progress and improve. The right to property is fundamental to us, *when considered in its natural and personal character. Capitalism today works against this law based, like some uncontrolled individualism and upon the physiognomy of the Liberal Democratic economic system.* We must adopt new regulatory processes *for* production and trade, so that the Government can avoid the imbalances *which are* harmful to social stability. Communism is not a solution, because it is based on the same fundamental principles of capitalism, with the aggravating factor of *consolidating many 'bosses' into a single entity to* enslave the working class to a minority of cruel officials, *all of whom are recruited from the remaining or surviving bourgeoisie.* Communism destroys the family to better enslave the worker to the State; destroys the human personality to better enslave man in *a materialistically*

obscene collective; destroys religion to better enslave the human being to the *baser human* instincts; destroys the initiative of each, kills the stimulus, sacrifices humanity for a *contrived fantasy*, falsely promising scientific conduct as soon as possible, that is, in about 200 years, at least. What we wish to give to the worker, the farmer, the soldier, the sailor is the possibility to upload as your vocation and your righteous desires. We want to empower everyone to *raise themselves*, by their qualities, by work and *consistent efforts*, *to* a better position, both in ***t****heir* class, and outside it, and even in the Government of the nation. We don't teach the worker the doctrine of cowardice, of disillusion, hatred, the resignation, like communism *and* anarchy; the doctrine of submission, *the unavoidability of ostracism*, *and* complying with the dictates of politicians *as does* liberal democracy. We teach the doctrine of courage, of hope, of love of country, *of duty* to society, *the ability to achieve a beautiful life,* the ambitions of progress, of owning assets, *of elevation*, to raise *a* family. *We do* not destroy the person such as communism; neither *do we abuse the person*, *as liberal democracy does.* We want the *labor classes to exist* with guaranteed salaries commensurate with their needs, an interest in profits *according to effort and ability; of heads held high*, *in the* taking part in studies of matters that concern them; watching *and enthusiastic like free men;* taking part in decisions of the Government, as a superior *human* entity. We must be finished with the regionalism; we must organize the nation, with employees participating in government thrugh their legitimate representatives; with fair oversight exercized by the State on all producing activites through Integralism; (facciosismos) the doors will be open to all *who can demonstrate* abilities. The *organized classes* will ensure *to* their members, collective contracts *and* shall ensure the needs of work or production *to* each, in order to no longer

submit, as has hitherto been ***t****he practice*, those who are unemployed, *to* the humiliations of applications for *by those who seek* employment, so often greeted with contempt by, *which is* what causes righteous revolts. *We must rid* the workman and the petty bourgeoisie of the criminal indifference of liberal governments. *We must save* them from the bondage of communism. *We shall transfigure* the worker, hero of the new fatherland, in the superior man; illuminated by the noble ideals of moral, intellectual and material elevation, these are our purposes. The State, *shall be* for the protection of all.

VIII

The Family and the Nation

So great is the importance we give to the Producing Classes and Workers, as we *so* give to the Family. It is the basis of happiness on Earth. The only possible ventures (venturas). What is the happiness of man? These tiny things, so soft, so simple: the stroking of a mother, a father's word, the tenderness of a wife, the affection of a son, the embrace of a brother, the dedication of relatives and friends. *Such solidarity* in misfortune, illness, death, no State in its bureaucratic or legal expression, can ever give at any time. Communion in the joys, triumphs, struggles, *the* comfort of every moment, every day, *stimulates* hopes of perpetuity in blood and affectionate remembrance, this is what the family is, the perpetual source of spirituality and renewal while at the same time it is the projection of the human personality. *The current State takes the family away from the man, treating them as animals; by making him play their games they make him into an automaton that is both unhappy in his demoted status from having once been a person in a superiour condition.* What affection, comfort, and consolation may *the*

State give to that "economic entity" in those times of the great afflictions, or at the time of death? *Just who will animate such people in times of sorrow? Such lack of human worth will be as inevitable in a regime of Communist (and Capitalist —HRM) bureaucracy as in any other regime.* At the supreme moment, not enough science, public life, social life, collective life, selfish individualism; *the soul of the man is in his life's concerns*, and *we* say that this is not the language of compassion *spoken b*y a stranger, or *a formalized philanthropy* nor official support nor an absurd socialization of affections: but the deep language of affinities *that has at length been* stimulated and fed. The man can't turn into a bee or termite *man is not vermin.* The man and his family *in priority comes before* the State. The State should be strong enough to *maintain and uphold the integrity of the man and his family.* Because *it is in the family that the virtues originate from which consolidate the State.* The State *may be considered as* a big family, *made up of unified sets* of families. With this character is that he has the authority to *map out, set the course for and direct* the nation. *With law being based upon the* family *it is the duty of the State* to carry out social justice, representing the producing classes. We intend, in this grave hour for the Brazilian family, *to enlist* your defense in our program. Is, to defend the family of the worker, of the merchant, industrialist, of the farmer, the agricultural economist, the physician, the pharmacist, the lawyer, the engineer, the magistrate, the scientist, the artist, the teacher, the official, the soldier and the sailor against disorganization, prostitution and ruin we want the strong State *to be* based on the living forces of the nation.

IX

The Municipality, Centre of the Families, the Nation's Cell

The municipality is a meeting of families. The man and woman, as professionals, as agents of progress and production, should apply in their respective *trade* classes, in order that they are supported on the occasions of diseases and unemployment. That way, those who work and produce are guaranteed by their own *trade* class, and do not need to depend on favors from political bosses, warlords, or local directories of canvassing. It is the only way to achieve free and conscious voting. The *trade* classes elect their representatives to the Councils, as we said, and they elect their President and Mayor. * *(Note: Through National Corporate Syndicalism the entire society will be rearranged into syndicates; that is, for example, there shall be created 'domestic or family syndicates, consumer syndicates, distributive syndicates, community syndicates as well as many others which will all take part in the election of both their own leadership from amongst their own ranks, as well as their taking direct part in the choosing of candidates for public offices all of whom will be required by law to represent their direct constituencies, that is to say that the elected officials and elected members of the governments and the regional and district representatives will be absolutely required to cast their votes on all matters in the National Assemblies i.e. 'Congress' in complete accord with the will of the citizens from their own districts; there will no longer be the prerogative to vote against the will of the people. There shall no longer be the temptations of the influences by the special interests and the Plutocracy and the oligarcic so called "political action committees' viz 'PACs' which always thwart the desires and the hopes of the common voters of the people; this will kill the odious practice of favoritism in our elected representatives who, today, subvert and corrupt the national governmental assemblies thus committing treason against the people.-HRM)*

The municipalities must be autonomous in all respects as to their peculiar *and particular* interests because the municipality is a meeting of residents who aspire to wellbeing and progress. Administrative morality can be inspected *or monitored* by their own *trade* classes because what determined the demoralization of city councils in the liberal system was the political support with local political bosses who *gave their own personal orders to* the leaders of State policy. *When the parties are extinct*, the municipal government will rest on the willingness of the classes. Within these no strange influence can be exerted because everyone feels supported by the class to which they belong. * *(Note: The term 'class' here is representative of the natural social groupings of the people. It is not to be confused with the class warfare system advocated by the Marxists and the various types of Communists or the Liberal Socialists; here, the term of 'class' is meant to imply those social domestic affiliations which have occurred naturally in the course of centuries through national social and community developments.—HRM)* There will be no way of imposong political persecution because the local Government will be free of injunctions of men who, living out of town, *interfere in community affairs*, as has heretofor been the common practice. The municipality therefore, is the headquarters of families and of classes which will be administered with honesty, will be autonomous and will be directly linked to the national designs.

X

The Integralist State

We intend to create the Integralist State which is free of any dividing principle: political parties; (estadualismos) in

the struggle for hegemony; class struggles; local factions; sectional leaders (caudilhismos); disorganized economy; antagonism between the military and civilians; antagonism between State militias and the army; between the Government and the people; between the Government and the intelligentsia; between these and the popular mass. We intend to run the classic powers (Executive, legislative and judiciary), according to the nation's tax package, with bases in their Classes, in the municipality and in the family. We intend to create the Supreme authority of the nation. We intend to mobilise all the technical capabilities, all the scientists, all artists, all professionals, each acting in their particular sphere, so as to realize the greatness of the Brazilian nation. We intend to take as the basis of the great nation, the man himself from our land in its historical reality, geographical, economical, in its nature, its character, its aspirations, studying it profoundly, as science and morals. This biological and psychological element, will conduct social relations, with safe standards of law, education, economic policy, *all on the basis of legality.* As the dome of this building, we will perform the supreme idea, the synthesis of our civilization: on philosophy, literature, the arts who shall signify the direction of our national and human spirit. We intend to create, with all the racial elements, according to the (mesológicos) economic imperatives, *of* the Brazilian nation, saving it from the errors of Capitalist civilization and the errors of Communist barbarism. *To* create as a single expression, the Economic State, the *State* Finances, the Representative State **(Note: One which is totally founded in the concepts of 'direct democracy' that shall be accomplished through the Corporate State and National Syndicalism. HRM)* and the Cultural State. We intend to raise Brazilian populations in an unprecedented united force never before reached, a hope

ever imagined. We intend to lay the foundations of an educational system to guarantee the subsistence of the nation in the future. *We increase enthusiasm to tear them away from disbelief,* apathy, skepticism, and the sadness in which they live; to teach them the lessons of courage, instilling within them a certainty of the value that each has inside himself, *the confidence* as the son of Brazil and America. *We will* move the masses in a great affirmation of rejuvenation. To shake the fibers of the fatherland. To pry it from *its* depression, its dismay, its bitterness, to move foreward giving beginning to the new civilization, which, by our strength, our courage, and our faith shall make from Brazil, ignite our continent, and influence in the World. To do this, we will fight the ironic, the "blase young", the disenchanted, the unbelievers, because at this time we do not rest for a moment, until we die or win, because with us will die or win a homeland. These are the directions of our March!

‘MANIFESTO OF GUANABARA’

Frente Integralista Brasileira—Rio De Janeiro (1932) (2005) (2009)

Interpretative translation by **H. R. Morgan** (2013)

‘INTEGRALISM IS A doctrine that, looking to the absolute and divine providence that is of God, and taking into complete consideration that this is a complete nation that is ours and our children s’, the born and those yet to be born, the land of our parents, and by the family, understands the universe in such a manner as it is, it is intending to build a new society and a new state and a new civilization according to the hierarchy in their spiritual and material values in accordance with the natural laws governing actual reality to create a high destination, a transcendent destiny.’

‘The above mentioned hierarchy in which is found the principle and the exercise of authority prevails Spiritually on the moral, social, national levels of ultimate *totalitarian* personal domestic national existence.’

‘Integralism is a civil/political movement which aims for establishing the total happiness and well-being of the people of Brazil, is determined to establish Social Justice; renewal of the greatness of our nation that must be renewed and rejuvenated to re-establish the march towards its historical destiny; building *and actually ‘creating’* **an Ethical State** and a complete democracy, *a totalitarian democracy —Corporative Syndical ‘direct’ democracy,* and the creation of a Legal Order which is based on the intimate essence of national *cultural* tradition and totally based in the nations past *experience* that reflects the deep, authentic realities of

the true and actual Brazil. So as to achieve the standards of natural law taking into account the circumstances of time and place.'

'It is not possible that there is a new State, a new community, or a new civilization without there first being a new *kind of* man, and because of this, Integralism preaches Inner Revolution, revolution of the spirit, change of attitude in the face of reality and of occurring issues *and adversities*, which must necessarily precede the outer revolution; revolution of the institutions which may under no circumstances *be allowed to* violate the freedom, the integrity, or the inviolability of the human personage; natural groups to which such free will belongs to best serve their 'rights' toward the fulfillment of their duties to their national society, of the family, and of the fatherland.'

'Integralism is a spiritual movement, affirming the immortality of the spirit and the love of God—above all that is. Integralism is a broad spiritualistic front, that brings together people of all faiths united within the fight against materialism which is coarse and overpowering as plainly seen in society now in its form as liberal *Marxian* Communism.'

'The human person created by God that is of individual substance—has an immortal spirit endowed with intelligence and free will, and finds in national groups and a national state the means *for the citizen* to better fulfill their duties and the exercising of their rights according to their transcendent nature.'

'The human entity which possesses the mastery to practice in their march on the earth the virtues *of ethics and morality* should not have their value measured by what they possess, their social class or ethnicity, but rather for their civic, ethical, and moral virtues and the work they have

carried out for the benefit of the common good believing this as the set of conditions suitable to allow the integral human development and continued existence of natural social groups.'

'The human being, who must have integrity, dignity, inviolability and freedom respected by the State, is endowed with natural *human* rights, sacred and untouchable, such as:

a. The right to life from conception to natural death. b. The right to freedom *liberty* when used for community benefit *or when benign in its exercise.* c. The right to work, the right to fulfill a social human duty, paid a fair wage so that the employee—develops morally, ethically, mentally, socially, politically, and economically. d. The right of Association, that is, the right to join with others to form autonomous cultural associations, scientific, social, economical, recreational, or professional in order to protect the interests of their members and strengthen the common good. e. The right to religion; the right to fulfill their duty to confess a faith in God and to promote and attend public and private worship. f. The right to property within the limits imposed by consideration of the common good, that is to say, the right of ownership exercised fairly for the benefit of the entire society. g. The right to start a family through marriage and to personally *and privately* govern it. h. The right to education, physical, intellectual, ethical, moral, civic and religious training.'

'The doctrine of Integralism defends Natural Law, 'classic', authentic, and concrete, as opposed to un—Natural Law with its license, which is abstract and inauthentic *not based in 'reality'*, and the belief that 'enlightenment' on the moral-ethical and legal level is characterized by belief that the State is the sole and exclusive source of morality, ethics, and justice. Classic natural law has its foundations resting on the tradition formed by the philosophers of ancient

Greece, by the law makers of Rome, and by theologians and canonists of the middle ages. Natural law should be complimented by 'positive' law—taking into consideration the circumstances of time and space being in full accordance with the traditions and the spirit of the nation.'

'The family is the natural and divine institution that is based upon marriage of persons of different sexes and being the very living tissue of society, is the first and the most important of natural groups since it is the birth place of all social life, and the repository of the most authentic traditions of the homeland. The State must to everything possible to maintain the integrity of the family, respecting the inviolability of their rights and lasting autonomy with solid economic foundations. The family has a right to a salary that is high enough to support their moral, intellectual and basic needs in materials i.e. food, clothing, housing, transportation to the work place etc.'

'Private property is legitimate in accord with human nature; overall, private property is legitimate as a system that assures the best most accurate use of assets and the freedom of the human population. Raw materials taken from the national soil are meant first and foremost for supplying *meeting* the social needs of the community so that the right to property must be exercised fairly for the benefit of everyone, that is to say, the property must be used to fulfill its social function.'

'The property which does not serve its function socially must be appropriated for purposes of Agrarian reform if it is located in the countryside, and for Urban reform if it is located in an urban area with just compensation being made to the former owner.'

'Agrarian reform meaning the set of measures which realize the revision of legal and social-economic relations concerning the ownership and the rural labor for a more fair

and equitable distribution of land and income, and finally, the promotion of social justice, progress, and human welfare and the integral sustainable and harmonious economic and social development of the country with the gradual extinction of anti-economic and antisocial forms of exploitation of the earth. The agrarian reform that Brazil lacks is a fair land reform, balanced, healthy, and democratic and without ideological purposes of any kind, in the same way as land reform that no land reform we need is confiscatory, motivated by ideological interests that thus far have been for the benefit of strange foreign doctrines and movements alien to our tradition that are based on fomenting hatreds and violence, terror, and moral, ethical, and social breakdown viz. *'social entropy'*.'

'According to Integralist doctrine, the definite Integralist Municipality being the Nation, is a gathering of free people and politically organized families constituting a society that is a national group with absolute respect for our peculiar interests—*a corporate government of syndicalized citizenry.*'

'The nation is composed of the dead founders, of the living who continue on today, and those who are yet to be born and who will continue forward into tomorrow in a spiritual heritage which is the true amplification of a family unit. Integralism preaches patriotism; instinctual feeling that is true to the natural law. The nation is characterized by its tradition and formed by its children and by natural groups of which they are part which best meet their duties while exercising their rights consisting in an easily discerned Unity *the national 'being' or entity*, a dynamic body with a way of life that is sociologically the formula of its own earthly mission due to its historical past and traditions.'

'Integralism maintains healthy constructive Nationalism, just and proper unity and recognizes the moral virtue that compels us to love and defend the nation and its best

interests, assuming not only patriotism but also cultural traditionalism. Our traditionalism should never be rigidly tied with the past or be confused with 'conservatism' *which stagnates and kills all social progress* but rather a accession to the true and current state of national social affairs forward toward real progress.'

'The economy must be an instrument for the service of humanity contrary to what has occurred all too often since the Industrial Revolution. The entire economic life of the nation must be subordinated to the common good and to the ultimate goal of man and the will of God.'

'Integralism defends the system of "free-enterprise" which is intertwined with a free market in the domestic sphere, and should the Integralist State intervene in the economy in collaboration with the private and domestic sector in accordance with its principle of social subsidies pertaining to relief of the common welfare; Integralism preaches that the economy should be directed toward social supremacy over the national, that is, the State should be against the unjust and unfair interests of the very large privately owned capitalist economic interests and financial conglomerates that threaten the sovereignty and personal well being of the citizenry.'

'The social question is in the strictest sense the question of the relationship between Labor and Capitalism, notably with regard to the situation of the working class. The social issue can only be resolved by co-operation of all with the adoption of new regulatory processes for industry and trade so as to avoid such imbalances that are harmful to the stability of society and with the socialization and constant improvement of fundamental rights of the human being. The worker must attain a fair wage adequate and proper for their needs along with profit sharing in accordance with their effort and ability as well as taking part in government

decisions *through a process of 'direct' democracy*. Integralism is opposed to class struggle, arguing that these, although being different but not adverse, should and can work and exist at peace.'

'The full national state synthesis is the Ethical State that is both anti-authoritarian and anti-individualist which is not in itself a beginning and an end, but only a means, a tool in the service of humanity and the common good of the national community that is subordinate to God and is transcended by ethics and propelled by an ethical ideal. The full Nationalist State is a synthesis of a hierarchy of groups, exists to protect the citizen and not to violate their human rights and to promote and accomplish the permanent progress and renewal of the synthesis of Brazilian civilization through philosophy, literature, law, arts, that shall express the true human spirit.'

'The Integralist State will maintain the defense of national sovereignty and the mission to restore the greatness of our nation to promote its prestige abroad causing it to become a nation effectively respected in the face of the other great nations, assuming a leadership role.'

* * *

Though there is no racism in Brazilian Integralism, because of the consuming interest of all Fascist movements in nationalism, there is always a possibility for ethinic chauvanism developing over time when the originating ethnic fabric of the culture is perceived to be threatened by an influx of foreigners. This is especially true when the levels of immigration are seemingly so overwhelming that the population of emigrees are able to demand that their historical customs and traditions, especially when a difference in religion is evident, are to be given preferencial status and are promoted and officially protected by the

sitting government. * *(Note: Such a government is, in every sense of the word, treasonous; its social political agenda is to reconolize the nation and to ignore the essencial will of the indiginous people—the most odious of all governmental preoccupations.—HRM)*

The tone and doctrinal thrust of Brazilian Integralism is essentially concerned with the preservation of the customs, traditions, and religious habits of the originating Brazilian population. Some would call their ideas reactionary and xenophobic. I would not. In regard to the basic laws of nature, self preservation is the highest of these laws; it influences the lives and values of all living things. For those who insist that this is an 'unjust' prejudice, I would say, rather, that national preservation is as legitimate to the nature of mankind as are the dynamics of mate selection, the nurturing of children, and the territorial self defense of the family. To say otherwise is a deviant outlook.

The international liberalism that has, for so long, strangled the self determination and the national self esteem of all nations, has been engaged by Fascist doctrines throughout the world. Nations are no longer allowing themselves to be shamed by the words and criticisms of the mass media which is in fact owned and controlled by international Capitalist interests; the same interests that had fabricated the myths of internaitonal brotherhood and military interventionism as being a 'duty' to "humanity", along with the concepts of 'national pride' being an evil notion, and the defensive measures taken by countries to protect their people through international trade restrictions, tariffs, and the protection of domestic institutions from foreign ownership.

Todays Liberalism has so diverted from its original agenda of protecting the poor, the aged, and the suffering domestic populations to include destabilizing practices

which actually do harm to the same classes of people it was once the champion of in the 1800's. The problem is that Liberalism has been taken over by international Capitalism; the same people it was established to protect the threatened populations from. The "Fox has taken over the hen house".

Brazilian Integralism, as with British Integralism, fights this trend. The doctrine insists on restoring dignity to the populaton of the common citizenry. The Fascist form of democratic institution, which both Brazilian and British Integralism are fighting for is the closest thing to 'direct democracy' that I have seen to date. It is through the institution of National Syndicalism that all citizens may attain a real voice in government policy. And, because of its anti-Capitalist stance it is fought against with as much force as is possible by the constituents of international Capitalism.

* * *

Brazilian Integralism is an extremely Nationalist and Social doctrine. Its primary function is to protect, to promote, and to further the social and economic interests of the Brazilian people. While deneying recism and ethnic preference, the doctrine of Integralism seeks to preserve the integrity and the cultural, traditional, and the various ethnicity and racial character of their people; this is a worthy cause as each and every national people deserves its own homeland inwhich to propagate its offspring. Once the national indiginous populace has been replaced through mass foreign immigrations that recolonize and eventually reach a level where the original Brazilians are out numbered and then are dominated, that nation is doomed to end its existence in the world.

CONSCIOUSNESS OF NATIONALITY

By **A. Chowdry Neto**
Lawyer, professor and former Secretary of the Interior and Justice of Guanabara.
Article originally published in the January1998 Alert Bulletin

Interpretative translation by **H. R. Morgan** (2013)

THE OLD POLICY *of ruling over peoples in the colonial domion aspect* is the art of ruling peoples, bastard peoples *that are* ruled by men or by ruling elites *who are* without ideals and without energetic faith. We understand that without ideals and faith, sublimated in a patriotically determined mystique, we can do nothing in support of the nation. History demonstrates that mysticism is always an absolute ideal as is the ideal of "Christ and Nation". Its objective is to achieve the greatness of Brazil. The *Integralists are not* "dogmatists", Jacobin patriots, ufanistas, *lyricalists* or xenophobic, *and even less are we,* obviously, the ("ceticistas") *critics* of patriotism, *or* systematic deniers of legal sovereignty and the spiritual idea of the nation, *as are the decadence spreading* internationalists and *the spreaders of* Bolshevik thought. We affirm, contrary to the royalists or critics of patriotism behold *that* we have designed the fatherland based upon a mutual feeling, demonstrated the will of the collective, and expressed the aspirations of a large historical family—"nationalism," for we the fundamentalists, is not only the cult of National flag and anthem, it is the deep awareness of our needs, the character and the

aspirations of the fatherland, and of the value of the race" (October 1932 Manifesto).

We are the Conscience of nationhood. I told someone that we are fundamentalists *we are* men marked by our idealism, marked by antagonism with that honor us the enemies of Christian civilization tied by the firmness of the suffering padecidos. All that would be hard or unbearable pity for any Pharisee demoliberal policy, constitutes for us an indelible brand dignificadora, which transforms us as that in remorse of nationality... According to the austere Hemerkem Kempls, "*to the bottom of the 15th century, sent us the message ordered inside, little you do"* to the famous effects or wicked men. We fundamentalists, care little about the glory and tinsel of political pragmatism whos bad positions when in operation, oppress us into an enigmatic 'patriotism', *devoting us to a hard situation.*

Working, (amarguramos), suffering, thinking of the survival of the Country which must be preserved through the centuries even though to do so, if *fact* masters the sacrifice of things necessarily passing through our lives, *the morals of the stories we tell*, when talking to our children, our grandchildren and all generations of the posterity of Brazil, *one day will know of our sacrifice*. So it is that I conclude that throughout the future nothing will stop us because we March with the conscience of the Nation and the honor of Brazil.

* * *

"Being a supporter of Fascism is not something to be ashamed of, it is something to be proud of."—*Ziotio Garibaldi*

Considering the afore mentioned hallmarks of Fascism, it is clear that Brazilian Integralism is Fascist. Brazilian

Integralism is a living example of a native Fascism. True, they are not Italian Fascists, they are Brazilian Fascists. They do not call themselves 'Fascist', they call themselves 'Integralists'; this is a euphemism for social totalitarianism. To avoid being associated with the much maligned word, labels like "the Entireist State" or the "Integral State" are created. Mincing words does not change the truth. There is an old American saying that *"actions speak louder than words."*

The structure of the movement and its ideological principles, as well as its doctrine, is the most direct and complete form that Fascism can take. The politicization of the *'Internal Revolution'* is the most basic of all Fascist principles dating back to the 1880's. Even in the German aberration of the 1930's and the 1940's this was abundantly present. Internal Revolution, or "Inner Revolution" is one of the most important and is indeed, the most commonly wide spread principle which is found in all fascisms throughout the world and throughout the history of the ideology.

Also present is the doctrine of 'national rootedness' or 'blood and soil'; veneration of the national homeland; the extreme nationalism and celebration of domestic customs and traditions.

Then there are the outward manifestations such as the wearing of Fascist style uniforms and arm bands. There is also the popular use of the Roman salute. Amazingly, these are naturally evolved practices and are not imported from the fascisms of other countries. The symbols and symbolism employed by fascisms throughout the world are similar because they are a natural out growth of the ideology.

The entire spiritual program of Integralism is a Fascist ideal from beginning to end. It is not Italian, it is Brazilian; has nothing to do with the German form of Fascism, National Socialism, as German National Socialism or Nazism

is German just as American National Socialism in North America (led by **Commander Jeff Schoep** of the ***National Socialist Movement***) is not German Nazism, it is American National Socialism having a noticeably different agenda from the German as is the same with British Fascism in its doctrinal differences with French Fascism (French Fascism is more leftist and British Fascism leans slightly more to the 'right').

ON THE DENIAL BY THE BRAZILIAN INTEGRALIST FRONT OF THEIR BEING 'FASCIST':

* **Here are evidencial exhibits:**

A. If it looks like a duck (Dux)

Plinio Salgado

B. If it walks like a duck (Dux)

The Integralist salute, "*Anauê!*", which means "*you are my brother!*" (believed by some to have originated in a Tupi language expression)

C. If it quacks like a duck (Dux)

Plinio Salgado saluting

Then it is probably a duck (Dux)!

Benito Mussolini standing and saluting

Ferenc Szalazi

Synarchist & Movimiento Social Republicano Posters

Brazilian Integralist Flag (colors are blue with white sigma at center)

Union Nacional Sinarquismo Flag (colors are red with white circle having a green slihouette of Mexico at center)

Senor Ziotio Garibaldi (2007) at training facility in Mexico

British Union of Fascists symbol

Juan Ignacio Padilla

Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera

Sir Oswald Mosley with
Ann Brock Griggs

French Fascists saluting

French Fascist Croix de Feu march
honoring a fallen comrade

Jose Millian-Astray

A large gathering of Black Shirts in Italy

REVOLT OF THE MASSES

By ***Jose Ortega y Gasset***

'La rebellion de los Masas'—(1930)

THERE IS ONE fact which, whether for good or ill, is of utmost importance in the public life of Europe at the present moment. This fact is the accession of the masses to complete social power...

In order to understand this formidable fact, it is important from the start to avoid bringing to the words 'rebellion', 'masses', and 'social power'; a meaning exclusively or primarily political. Public life is not solely political, but equally, and even primarily, intellectual, moral, economic, religious; it comprises all our collective habits, including our fashions both of dress and of amusement.

The select man is not the petulant person who thinks himself superior to the rest, even though he may not fulfill in his person those higher exigencies. For there is no doubt that the most radical division that is possible to make of humanity is that which splits it into two classes of creatures: those who make great demands on themselves, piling up difficulties and duties; and those who demand nothing special of themselves, but for whom to live is to be every moment what they already are, without imposing on themselves any effort towards perfection.

I believe that the political innovations of recent times signify nothing less than the political domination of the masses. The old democracy was tempered by a generous dose of Liberalism and enthusiasm for law. Today we are witnessing the triumphs of a hyperdemocracy in which the mass acts directly, outside *(of)* the law, imposing its

aspirations and its desires by means of material pressure.

The present day writer has to bear in mind that the average reader, if he reads does so with the view not of learning something from the writer, but rather of pronouncing judgment on him. The characteristic of the hour is that the commonplace mind, knowing itself to be commonplace, has the assurance to proclaim the rights of the commonplace and to impose them where ever it will.

It is precisely because mans vital time is limited, precisely because he is mortal, that he needs to triumph over distance and delay. For an immortal being, the motor-car would have no meaning.

We live at a time when man believes himself fabulously capable of creation, but he does not know what to create. Lord of all things, he is not lord of himself. Hence the strange combination of a sense of power and a sense of insecurity.

The mass-man is he who's life lacks any purpose, and simply goes drifting along. Consequently, though his powers and his possibilities be enormous, he constructs nothing. And it is this type of man who decides in our time.

In the schools, which were such a source of pride in the last century, it has been impossible to do more than instruct the masses in the technique of modern life; it has been found impossible to educate them.

The whole of history stands out as a gigantic laboratory in which all possible experiments have been made to obtain a formula of public life most favorable to the 'plant-man'. And beyond all possible explaining away, we find ourselves face to face with the fact that, by submitting the 'seed of humanity' to the treatment of two principles, Liberal democracy and technical knowledge, in a single century the species in Europe has been triplicated. Such an

overwhelming fact forces us, unless we prefer not to use our reason, to draw the *(following)* conclusions**:** 1. that liberal democracy based on technical knowledge is the highest type of hitherto known 2. that that type might not be the best imaginable, but the one we imagine as superior to it must preserve the essence of those two principles; and, 3. that to return to any forms of existence inferior to that of the 19th. Century is suicidal.

Now it turns out—and this is most important—that the world of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries not only has the the perfections and completeness which it actually possesses, but furthermore suggests to those who dwell in it the radical assurance that tomorrow it will be still richer, ampler, more perfect, as if it enjoyed a spontaneous, inexhaustible power of increase. **This leads us to note down in our psychological chart of the 'mass-man' of today two fundamental traits: the free expansion of his vital desires, and therefor, of his personality; and his radical ingratitude towards all that has made possible the ease of his existence.** These traits together make up the well known psychology of the spoilt child.

They are only concerned with their well being, and at the same time they remain alien to the cause of that well-being. As they do not see, behind the benefits of civilization, marvels of invention and construction which can only be maintained by great effort and foresight, they imagine that their role is limited to demanding these benefits peremptorily, as if they were natural rights. **Contrary to what is usually thought, it is the man of excellence, and not the common man who lives in essential servitude.**

Life has no savor for him unless he makes it consist in service to something transcendental. Hence he does not look upon the necessity of serving as an oppression. When by

chance such necessity is lacking he grows restless and invents some new standard, more difficult, more exigent, with which to coerce himself. This is life lived as a discipline —the noble life. Nobility is defined by the demands it makes on us—by obligations, not by 'rights'. Noblesse oblige. "to live as one likes is plebeian; the noble man aspires to order and law"—Goethe

The world as organized by the nineteenth century, when automatically producing a new man, has infused into him formidable appetites and powerful means of every kind for satisfying them. After supplying him with all these powers has abandoned these powers—has abandoned him to himself, and the average man following his natural disposition has withdrawn into himself.

The masses are incapable of submitting to direction of any kind… It is illusory to imagine that the mass-man of today, however superior his vital level may be compared with that of other times, will be able to control, by himself, the process of civilization. I say process, and not progress. The simple process of preserving our present civilization is supremely complex, and demands incalculably subtle powers.

It is not a question of the mass-man being a fool. On the contrary, today he is more clever, has more capacity for understanding than his fellow of any previous period. This is what in my first chapter I laid down as the characteristic of our time, not that the vulgar believes itself super-excellent and not vulgar, but that the vulgar proclaims and imposes the rights of vulgarity, or vulgarity as a *(special)* 'right'.

The type of man dominant today is a primitive one. He does not see the civilization of the world around him, but he uses it as if it was a natural force. The new-man wants his motor car, and enjoys it, but he believes that it is the

spontaneous fruit of an Edenic tree. In the depths of his soul he is unaware of the artificial, almost incredible, character of civilization, and does not extend his enthusiasm for the instruments in the principles which make them possible.

ISSUES OF THE EXTERNAL AND THE EPHEMERAL

By ***Genesius Pereira Filho***

State Secretary of Studies & Governmental Plan of Sao Paul, and *State Secretary of the Party of Popular Representation*—PRP—(1950) originally published in ***'Forward'*** magazine—February-
April 1950—page 50

BEING INTEGRALIST IS not easy. The Integralist accepts a series of commitments with no breaks for ease. And above all, being Integralist means taking action, knowing the truth of life and accepting it.

What is taking action? It is taking a position in the exact front and showing a belief in a historic movement; and through the dialectic by the incessant movement of the future seeking knowledge of the truth. This being the truth and authenticity or reality of life itself, and the presence of man being pure of soul before that which is great and good.

The idea of truth must dominate all thinking. Can this idea of truth be achieved? This can be accomplished through thinking. By meditation; it is through thought that our attitude can be affected. Before the world filled with mysteries, with terrors, with uncertainty, filled with threats before the anguished souls and desperate hearts, (ante destinations rotos,) and disappointed hopes which make up the man? Thinking seeks to penetrate the endless depths of human *preoccupations with the materialism of the world* in an attempt to penetrate beyond the mysteries of the unseen.

There is the binomial that is capable of creating integral man, one that ennobles **the** existence: reason and belief. Unable to envision the ultimate truth ***do to*** by the fragility of the sciences, which (esboroam) to the unfathomable mystery of infinity, the man feels the need to believe. And believing, (plasma) a reality for all, for things that surround and *the unreasonability of the universe as well as those universes yet unguessed*, it is stated in the reality of their own world and strengthened by *their present walk in their ideals.*

One cannot, therefor, believe, without putting into their belief the entire strength of the soul and *imagination.* The ideal which dominates the man has to be fully accepted without reservation, completely, and in absolute perfection. The root of the truth is profound, and will not admit *false premises.* It goes to the center of the heart, ensnares and binds, dominates, subdues, absorbs, consumes, infiltrates, penetrates, reigns and prevails. It *does not accept* limits. The ideal *either* is, *or is itself* taken *over.* Whoever believes *either believes radically, or does not believe at all.* Those who seek partial *truths in a belief do not know the exact pure and lasting thought or ideal.*

REASSERTING VALUES DECLARATION OF THE 4TH NATIONAL CONVENTION

Frente Integralista Brasileira—Rio de Janeiro

Interpretative translation by ***H. R. Morgan*** (2013)

WE, REPRESENTATIVES OF the Brazilian Integralist Front, which *met* in São Paulo, in recent days 4th. and 5th. of February, its 4th National Conference, which was attended by by fundamentalists from various parts of Brazil, as well as representatives of different organizations, thanking God's proper conclusion of the work of the aforementioned event, presenting, here, in a fairly succinct, its finding and its conclusions:

■ We reinforce our commitment to the defense of God, homeland and family, as well as the Christian traditions of the Brazilian nation, concrete freedoms of our people, of Social Justice, of the property to the owner's duties conditioned towards the common good and, of course, the dignity and inviolability of the human person and of his life, from conception to natural death. We reinforce, likewise, our commitment to the fight for the edification, in Brazil, an authentic Organic Democracy and a genuine Ethical State of Justice, as well as the fight against materialism, individualism, liberalism, communism and governmental policies in favor of the legalization of

abortion, pornography, promotion of *and the* encouraging *of* homosexuality, population control and cultural re-engineering, which have policies intended to totally destroy the Christian values in Brazil and in the world, thus (desfibrando) ***the defabrication of*** the Nations;

■ *We* repudiate the disrespect to the Constitution written by the State itself, and even more, the disrespect of the Traditional, Natural, organic Constitution and Social History of the nation, before and higher than that;

■ *We* are denouncing the Federal Government for use of the State apparatus in the service of the self-proclaimed workers 'Party in an attempt to promote genuine political persecution and to intimidate Brazilians *who are* honest and committed to the truth, many of them currently serving exile in foreign territory;

■ *We shall* introduce new communication projects and information security that we consider essential to the development of our Organization, with a view to the political scenario presented;

■ We note significant progress in the development of our Government program, which initially will be distributed to participating delegations for development;

■ We will expand our activities in the field of international relations, developing contact with other organizations, patriotic and nationalist traditionalists and observing the geopolitical landscape in all continents with wise and deserved attention;

■ *We are setting* working goals at all levels, aiming

at the establishment and regulation of Brazilian Integralist Front cores in all provinces of Brazil, as well as the intellectual and cultural improvement of the nuclei and encouraging an active political attitude in the localities in that act;

■ *We are* strengthening *activism i. e. the desire* for work aimed at municipal, provincial and national elections;

■ We salute the work of other organizations, based on goals similar to ours, *which* have developed important work in defense of the deep, authentic and true Brazil and its more authentic traditions;

■ We are pleased to inform you that, during the realization of this event, the Centro de Estudos Gustavo Barroso *joined our Organization* and its founder and Chairman, the Distinguished Fellow Romulus Augustus Romero Sources, *which* we will support in its editorial projects, all of *which are* based on more *a* strict fidelity to the *essential ideals of* Christians and *the* Brazilian doctrine of Sigma;

■ Finally, we *give* well deserved tribute to those who have fallen anonymous*ly* or not, *in defense of* the blue and white flag and those who worked without measuring efforts in defense of authentic Brazilian nation*al* ideals.

For the sake of Brazil!
Anauê

INTEGRALIST GUIDELINES

(1933)

Interpretative translation by ***H. R. Morgan*** (2013)

THE NATIONAL SECRETARIAT of doctrine of the Provincial Secretariats A.I.B. channel their subordinate, the following guidelines:

I)—The Integralism (*el Integralismo*) understands the World of a full-on mode, and aims to build society according to the hierarchy of their spiritual and material values, in accordance with the laws governing their movements and under the dependency of the primordial reality, absolute and Supreme, which is God.

II)—This hierarchy, in which founded the principle and the exercise of authority, does Spiritual prevail about the Moral, morale on the Social, the Social on the national and the national private.

III)—Integralism considers the authority as a unifying force that ensures the convergence and the balance of individual wills and achieve full integration of the energies of the nation due to the collective good.

IV)—Integralism considers society as the moral and necessary Union of humans, living harmoniously, according to his superiors.

V)—Integralism understands the nation as a great society of families, living in a given territory, under the same Government, under the impression of the same historical traditions and with the same aspirations and purposes.

VI)—Integralism comprises the State as an essentially political and legal institution, which holds to the principle of sovereignty to carry out the will of the entire nation, coordinating and directing aling the guidelines of all of the naturl groups that constitute and to streamline all vital forces.

VII)—So, in designing the Integralist State as the Supreme political and Administrative Authority in the nation, to control and direct all of our dynamism, it will be subject, however, to the imperatives of the natural hierarchy of thing, to social harmony, and to the common good of the nation.

VIII)—Integralism recognizes the man a being endowed with an intangible personality, with natural rights in the triple aspects of their legitimate aspirations, material, intellectual and moral.

IX)—It is the duty of the State, and the State is obligated, for providing the conditions necessary for the full satisfaction of the legitimate aspirations of the human personality, respecting them, and favoring its widest expansion, guided always by the imperatives of social harmony and the destinational leadership of man.

X)—Integralism, proclaims thereby the intangible rights of human personality, and this is why it insists on the essential obligation that it *is* up to every individual to fulfil to the letter, all the duties resulting from their life in society; declares, therefore, that every individual subjects, in the sphere of their activities, for the best interests of the collectivity, which, in turn, influence and promote the legitimate expansion of his personality and the satisfaction of their noblest aspirations.

XI)—For the Integralism the family is the first and most important of social institutions, since, by its very nature, which is both biological and moral, is the birthplace of social

life and the repository of its most authentic traditions. The Integralist State will do anything to keep the bond that is indissoluble, protect and promote integrity, respect his intangible rights and fund their autonomy and their communion of affections with solid economic bases, through a just and enlightened family legislation, *rather than to abandon it, as has hitherto been the policy, letting the stability and security of all to wane with no possibility* to fulfill its high social mission of integral education of the child and his advancement in life.

XII)—Integralism claims, therefore, for the family, due to its noble and dedicated social function which gives it rights, that the institution of "family heirloom", *or 'property',* and the "family wage" in the economic order, and the "family vote" in the political order, is a fair recognition of its high social and national dedication to volunteerism. In defence of the rights of the family, Integralism will not forget the great Indian family, our Indians, who, then, should be integrated into civilization by the action of Christian missionaries under the protection of the State.

XIII)—Integralism considers the intensive and comprehensive education of the people as a fundamental duty of the State, in the interest of its own stability as well as its material and moral progress. Therefore, Integralism defends a program largely educational: (ensino unificado) and free in primary and secondary grades, with frequent and mandatory registration; intensification of technical education; lowering the costs of higher education; raising the economic, social and moral level of the teaching staff; creation of universities inspired by the principles of integral philosophy; creation of popular and high culture courses; stimulus for scientific research, the fine arts and literature in its different modalities, to always respect the limits imposed by moral imperatives both social and national; freedom and

encouragement to persue private initiative in all branches of education, however, subjecting it to the indispensable monitoring by the State, in order to maintain the same imperatives and uniformly high standards. Integralism, maintaining the proper didactic and scientific freedom, formally condemns the uncontrolled freedom Chair to digress from national policy.

XIV)—In carrying out this vast and intense educational programme, the State shall never exceed the legitimate sphere its their rights thereby annihilating or even (coarctando) primordial rights of the family and of religion in its education of new generations; instead, it will seek the participation of those grand (enfeixar) moral forces of the nation, in the spirit of a more honest understanding and of broader cooperation, so that this joint action brings about a truly integral education of new generations, consistent with the traditions and feelings of the Brazilian people. Other issues that relate to the *supreme and vital interests of the nation*, Integralism promotes always the identical attitude of the State with respect to the fundamental rights and interests of the family and of religion.

XV)—direct Supervision of the State over the cinema, the theatre, the press, the radio, all vehicles of thought that are today inveiging against freedom, forcing people to submit to the whims of international capitalist bourgeois materialists, and the anarchic spirit of the agents of Moscow. *State* Support of national artists so that they can, with independence, have the freedom to be Brazilians; and assisting all artistic endeavors; protecting the *moral, ethical, and social standards of the* national cinema; to sanitize the press raising *its ethical level* and freeing the private interests that currently oppress; all this will be a great work of Integralism.

XVI)—Integralism, aiming to promote the moral and

spiritual development of the nation, it is declared by the spiritualism against all materialistic trends of thought and action, not hindered by liberalism which attempts to exercise its nefarious work of disintegration of all the living forces of the nation.

XVII)—under this criterion, Integralism proposes to fully respect freedom of conscience and guarantee freedom of worship provided they do not constitute a threat to peace and social harmony.

XVIII)—Integralism will keep and protect all religious freedoms embodied in the Federal Constitution of July 16, 1934 and, subsequently, will respect the healthy Christian principles of society in all the details of national legislation.

XIX)—regarding the principle of religious cooperation, Integralism is the regimen of Concordat, there shall be no loss of autonomy of the groups and will always presue the national greatness within the Christian ideal of society.

XX)—Integralism favors Trade Union plurality within the prevailing regimen, but keeps the principle of strict the Union unit in a full political regime, because in this the unions shall fully provide to their respective classes the means necessary for the satisfaction of their legitimate interests, cultural material, moral and spiritual.

XXI)—Once organized the Integral State cannot allow to form, outside of their circle of action, any forces of a socio-political or economic order that could threaten its program; in these spheres of national life, everything must be controlled and supervised by the State.

XXII)—Integralism wants to direct the national economy by its Government, *inhibiting* the the forces of production so that the work is reduced to a mere commodity subject to the law of supply and demand; the intermediary which chokes the producer and crushes the consumer; so that

international capitalism enslaves them increasingly to financial groups in London and New York, not downloading, as does the liberal democratic State, the economic sovereignty of bourgeois capitalism as a Nation that allows the orgy of "trusts", "cartels", "monopolies" (espoliações) of any sort, through the onerous interest rates, stock market game, the maneuvers in which capitalism would infringe the principle of property. The attitude of the Integralist State should not be confused with the absurdity of Communism where the Government becomes the sole owner, the only capitalist, and the only boss.

XXIII)—Integralism defends the right of property within the limits imposed by the common good, setting, next to the right, the duty of the owner. Integralism acknowledges in private enterprise the more fruitful economic production factor, but to safeguard the particularist ambitions, the well-being and freedom of the Brazilian people, will persue the nationalisation of services which, by their nature, cannot be allowed to be exploited for profit, and that are intended for the development of the national economy and the public interest, such as: railways, navigation, mines, energy sources and banking equipment.

XXIV)—Integralism gives full efficiency, and restores dignity to vote, carrying it to corporations, where the individual is guaranteed moral and materially representation and freedom. In Full State, becomes unnecessary, since all the people shall cooperate in the Brazilian group to which they belong, for the formation of the Government. Integralism doesn't hurt democracy by extinguishing the existing political parties. *On the contrary: the real democracy is that which enslaves the lies of democratism, which originate from the overbearing oligarchies.* Every political party brings the leaven of a dictatorship in disguise. The 'democratism' eludes the mobs, making the vote a despicable choice. The

real national representation is effected through organized professions, natural groups, cultural and scientific associations in the country, no longer as a quantitative expression, but as a qualitative index of the nation. Integralism is Brazil's Enterprise organisation.

XXV)—The Municipality is a meeting of families. The origin of the municipality in the family made it holy and intangible in everything that relates to their peculiar interests. Those interests, however, *singly absorb* (exorbitar), to the point of hurting themselves. Thus, Integralism, maintains the autonomy of the municipality subordinate to the interests of the region or Nation in all that relates to General and technical services.

XXVI)—Integralism wants political centralization and administrative decentralization, so that there will be a plurality of means to perform an end unit. The provinces must have administrative autonomy, consisting of all the forces of the Brazilian regions in all national *policy*, without prejudice to their own values. The formula of Integralism is: "differentiation in unity".

* * *

Today the majority of countries have what is called 'representative "democracy" or Republicanism, This is not true democracy. Democracy is rule by the citizens and is based on the vote of the legitimate indigenous citizens majority. Representativeism is a farce performed for the benefit of the public in order that the people shall think they are being represented democratically.

However, the people can not help but to notice that their will and their desires are not being debated in the Parliaments, National Assemblies, or Congresses of the world. There is a strong element of disgust and distrust within the majority of the masses. Yet, they still continue to

vote back into political office the very same traitors, liars and thieves.

There is only one single manner inwhich the people may affect a permanent change in such a situation, and that is a total revolution. It must be complete with trials for treason, graft, and governmental prevarications. Executions must logically follow; and the permanent establishment of a National Corporate Syndicalist and Fascist system of rule must be put into place.

Permanent exile of corrupt bureaucrats and special interest representatives shall have to be placed into action. The so called 'Supreme Court' must no longer be appointed, but rather, be elected, with 10 year term limits, by the people. Government representatives must be allowed a limit of only one single term in office. The National Guard must be returned to the sole direction of the Governors of the States and Regions to which they belong; no longer attached to the United States Federal Armed Forces. The National Guard is to guard the nation, not to be sent overseas to take part in the Federal thuggery against peaceful and friendly nations; not to destabilize other countries having nothing to do with our own national interests; no longer to die on foreign soil for the interests of the corrupted government and the International Finance Capitalists.

A Fascist government will not shed American blood overseas to protect the interests of the Plutocracy and much less for the benefit of the oligarchy which now controls the Federal government. A Fascist government will only employ its military in conflicts which directly effect our own nation.

Let the people vote on whether or not out country goes to war; let them vote on tax increases; let the people decide issues like abortion or euthanasia; let the people decide on the proposed new laws of the land. This is true democracy—this is direct democracy; this is Fascism.

* * *

‘FULL DEMOCRACY’

Marcelo de Albuquerque Magalhaes—from “Alert”, number 47
—May 2000—pages 1 and 4, Sao Paulo, Brazil

Interpretative translation by ***H. R. Morgan*** (2013)

FULL DEMOCRACY (*ALSO called ‘direct democracy’—HRM*) *is what Integralism aims toward.* With our independence (1822) we won the recognition of a free people, however, after this fact the nation was subjected to the outrages of political parties, oblivious to the national interests so that the people had their orders from the ‘leagues’, exclusive ‘clubs’ and political committees of Notables. This situation worsened with the proclamations of the Republic (1889), where political parties became so frightening and chaotic. Today we see that fragmentation of the nation. This is the result of special and vested interests of individuals and groups. Out of fear, the Brazilians fell into the pit falls of liberal—democracy where they must vote for people who are without qualification for the exercise of social or community representation.

The Brazilian political parties are groups of high turn-over and are controlled by the influences of some warlords; its members do not have any responsibility to represent the citizenry to their constituents because they do not have any doctrinal or moral commitment. To be a Party in Brazil you do not have to have any consistency, in one day they shock the Nation in revelations about their political opponents, and then on the very next day they find themselves in

league with the enemy of yesterday. So, the Parties then 'depart' from our nation, leaving it in a state of complete aimlessness and confusion; this is actually a self-perpetuating practice of deliberate confusion for the people in a deliberately contrived and perpetual state of continual 'psychological' warfare where any candidate today may become a "right-hand-man" tomorrow, thus constituting the mess that governs the present day Brazil.

The representative does not obey any criterion, the applicant's ties can be as elastic as the imagination of its protagonists, obeying the clamor of the moment and directing their claims for the most diverse sectors of the life of the country. The people in this context are represented by all and for anyone. They, *the political candidates,* are for all when campaigning for office and at that time when they are claiming *to be in favor of the will of the voters*, by their false representation. As there is no well defined election system the voters are left with claiming someone or anyone. And, the candidate can assign their vote in the national assembly to anyone (including the oligarchic powers) and always dodge the claims of his constituents *those being the voting populace.*

It is abundantly proven then, that *the illegitimacy of the Parties of Brazil is proven by their indifference to the will and desires of the people.* Parties of Brazil are always indifferent to the desires of our people. The current parties are ineffective and damaged, totally devoid of doctrinal coherence. No Brazilian Political Party has a cohesive doctrine; the parties in this 'sham' of politics that are called 'elections' that are empowered through the direct vote (*universal suffrage*).

Only corporations can successfully replace 'fundamentalists' in today's political parties. Only in this way can there be representation with commitment and

seriousness. Overcoming the limits of the individual who only requests our vote once every four years, the *voting* citizen should be a lot more vigilant with regard to their representation as this will affect him and his community in a more *subjective and* objective manner. Done already with the indifference manifested in trading votes. It is vitally important that we notice that the seeds of corporate practice already exists in almost all fields of our society, much of the nation never ceased to huddle together in this way. You can tell by the magistrates, University professors, metallurgical, banking, military, professionals, etc. *that this is true.*

In short, the only doctrine of the Parties is that of who is in power and how to make contact and to *attain some sort of* influence with them. Which is to say, their eagerness for power without having the competent authority to govern, thereby creating buzzards, scavengers that live within the Brazilian political machine.

Integralist fundamentalists should not confuse the large *(social)* Corporations with the ancient medieval European Corporations and much less with **the present day big finance Corporatism**, **since these are un-democratic and unpopular ideas of power where the people were mere spectators manipulated by the rich and powerful**. The crucial difference is that **Integralist Corporatism is moved by their synicalized unions formed by working people to choose their representatives in the Corporative Chamber, understanding how people may rise from the bottom social and worker levels to the upper reaches of the system, the social pyramid.** The people choose who they want to be governed by through their representatives from within their own labor 'class'.

The moment is here. The time is now! Brazil asks that the Integralist Corporatism sow its seeds! With much struggle and hard work we can mobilize Brazilians to this

cause; with the help and understanding of our people **this result will be an eternal reality**. **Eliminating the Political Party factor of dis-unity in favor of the national Integralist corporations—that is, the social national integrational factor of the National Labor Front.**

Brazil above all!
(*Brazilia uber alles!*)

THE SOCIAL QUESTION AND EDUCATION

A Social Question

By **Pedro Baptista de Carvalho**

Interpretative translation by ***H. R. Morgan*** (2013)

SOCIAL QUESTIONS CANNOT be solved with assistance and much less with alms. Social problems are only resolved with jobs and fair wages.

Negation should be the best solution to the differences between social classes. However, fair trading is only possible when there is a level playing field between the parties concerned.

In social disputes, social confrontation never brought definitive solutions. At most, it only brings a temporary result, benefiting one or another social category.

The *labor* strike only causes social damage that is both immediate and direct. The 'class struggle' is the main factor of social disintegration. It causes social entropy and the beginning of the end of a civilization.

A Question of Educating

Education consists in knowing to recognize and respect the rights of others. Education cannot be taught with words alone. Education is transmitted primarily through examples.

We must not confuse teaching those who want to learn (the act or informing), with education (the act of 'forming').

Not only to inform those who are 'wondering', but to help

to form and cultivate the persons' need to understand their own personal 'beingness'. To educate is not only to direct. To educate is also to show paths.

To educate is not just the filling of heads. To educate is to awaken consciousness. It is about human behavior; to discuss behavioral criteria. We must not confuse human ethics and propriety, which are relative concepts, with honesty and honor which are absolute concepts.

INNER REVOLUTION

By Gustavo Barroso

from ***'What the Fundamentalist Should Know'*** pages 6-8
Interpretative translation by ***H. R. Morgan*** (2013)

FOR THE REALIZATION of such a great political, economic and social work Integralism must fight on without truce and mercilessly all repellent immorality of the current fraudulent system, deceit, corruption and empty promises as well as all materialism of Communist barbarism which some fools point to as salvation for our country.

The current liberal-political and pseudo-democratic regime is a mirror of the decay reached by Liberalism which sought to divide the nation through the deploying and fomenting hatred among brothers—with transient political parties which outweigh the personal ambitions to the highest interests of the country favoring the voters with an unconscious immorality as long as they reach positions such as Socialist or Communist 'morality' that says "the end justifies the means". This regime is weak and has shamefully enslaved out Brazil, the small amount of capital possessed by Brazilians and the work of our abandoned populations to the international Bankers who support a criminal system and successive excessive external 'loans' who's first baleful consequence is the skimming of the citizens through taxation.

The foreign agitators of Brazilian Communism along with their Brazilian allies who are enemies of the Motherland, seek the proletarianization of the masses which reduces the

man to mere material in a materialist sphere of existence in every way. Apart from the individual beliefs and traditions, their spiritual life and their belief in God and the ideal of the family, that is its projection in time and your property—which is their projection in space. "Rest in peace" (RIP) to our forces of reaction, to all of our human feelings. They wish to make of us a human 'beast' in preparation for a final internationalist Capitalism with an insidious enslavement to State Capitalism.

The Brazilian people struggling in real economic distress and craving a new standard of living, who are debating about this currently complete disorganization of their public existence, craves a new form of social justice; formidable in their resistance to the general methodology of the prevailing anarchy and needs to form righteous men that may solve the major and serious problems of Brazil society and issues facing the nation.

Urging, to save the people, the complete transition of Brazil with a new concept, a new regime, a new framework of values. This complete integral transformation of the Brazilian soul towards a strict compliance with all duties to family, to country and to God, that is the Spirit and the spiritual Order instituted by Him *(God)*. Only a moral revolution can produce a large and beneficial Social Revolution; because this is that projection.

Therefor, the Integralist doctrine states that the first revolution is the Inner Revolution.

CONTROL: MAKING GOOD CITIZENS

By ***Lawrence Dennis***—'The Coming American Fascism'

IN THIS CHAPTER, continuing the discussion of social control, we shall be concerned with the processes of education, indoctrination, and inculcation of right attitudes. We may, then, divide all human institutions into those in which education is purposive, or done with certain purposes pursued by those in charge of the institution, and those institutions in which education is non-purposive and purely, or chiefly, incidental. The school is one institution which most people will readily admit has this purpose and educates with definite purposes.

Accordingly, I am, including in this chapter a reprint of an article I contributed to a symposium on "Indoctrination, The Task Before the American School," published in The Social Frontier, A Journal of Educational Criticism and Reconstruction, January, 1935, for permission to reprint which I make acknowledgment to the publishers of that magazine. This article expresses the fascist philosophy with regard to education and indoctrination done by that institution, the school, which everyone recognizes to be engaged in purposive education.

Before entering upon a brief discussion of education by the school as one of the important agencies of social control or government, let us run over one or two considerations which link up certain other institutions with the school as educators with social purposes. The church, the press, the theatre, the moving picture, and the radio undoubtedly do

more educating than the school, if for no other reason than that they educate people throughout their entire lifetimes. These institutions also educate with definite social purposes. Sometimes these purposes harmonize with the larger purposes of the social plan, and sometimes they certainly do not. In the fascist view of things, all institutional formation of character, mind, social attitudes, and opinions with a social purpose, must harmonize with, and not be antagonistic to, the larger purposes of the national plan. This means that fascism holds that no institution forming people's minds, characters, and attitudes should have among its purposes or effects the unfitting of people for good citizenship as the State defines good citizenship.

It is obviously impossible to list all the offenses which purposive education, whether by the church, school, or radio, can commit against the national interest. It is only possible, in a brief space, to outline certain guiding principles in reference to purposive education by powerful social institutions. The first consideration in order of logical approach, perhaps, is the one most ignored, or openly denied, by liberalism. It is the consideration that institutions like the church, the radio, or the press, to mention only three examples, do form people's minds and social attitudes with definite social purposes which are determined by the persons in charge of the institution, or, more particularly, by the persons in charge of the particular unit of the institution in question. No one can work on a farm or in a bakery without getting a good deal of education from the experience, but the social attitudes acquired while undergoing these experiences may vary greatly. Few persons, however, can read the Hearst papers daily, or tune in daily on certain radio programs, or attend weekly certain churches, without having their social attitudes and opinions markedly determined by these experiences. In the cases of a

majority of those constantly exposed to one of these institutional educators with a purpose, it may be said that most of their opinions and attitudes will be derived almost entirely from two or three of these.

From the consideration just stated follows a second one, that given units of some of these important institutional educators or opinion—and attitude-formers are largely—at times, wholly—controlled by powerful persons or economic interests for private ends which are not always consistent with public ends. These rich persons who can own a newspaper, buy time over national hook-ups, and command the resources of expensive publicity experts, or these powerful interests which, because of their economic power as advertisers and contributors to persons and institutions, can dictate largely the policies of churches, newspapers, moving pictures, and radio, or of cultural leaders, can and do, through the sheer might of money, use these educational institutions or leaders to make people think and feel as it suits their interests. The facts are matters of such common knowledge, and have been exposed so many times and in so many connections, that it seems superfluous to support the foregoing generalizations with detailed examples.

The consideration, then, that people by the million are being made to think, feel, and vote as powerful economic interests desire, through the use of the character-, mind-, and attitude forming techniques of important institutions, constitutes one of the best refutations of liberal premises and one of the strongest arguments for fascism. Liberalism talks freedom of the press, the pulpit, the radio and, in fact, all the institutions which educate people and form social attitudes. But liberalism cannot make such freedom a reality in a world of present-day complexities of economic organization and of present-day inequalities of economic power. Fascism does not talk in preposterous terms of a

freedom which is non-existent and impossible to maintain, but rather in terms of a social discipline which it is possible for the State to impose in the name of a given ideal of national interest. So far as freedom is concerned (if that term in the abstract and by itself can ever have much meaning) it may be said that the people as a whole have most freedom where they have most opportunities to do what they like, and where they most like to do the things they have opportunities to do. Liberal freedom in practice today means, among other things, freedom for powerful economic interests to manipulate public opinion, and the social attitudes of the masses, to suit selfish private or corporate ends. It cannot be shown that a large measure of freedom for such manipulation gives the people as a whole more freedom than a drastic State discipline of it in the public interest would afford.

Stated somewhat differently, the question really is: Who shall manipulate the opinions, feelings, and attitudes of the masses?—for manipulated they must and will be in a civilization as complex and highly organized as ours. Is it preferable to have mass opinions, feelings, and social attitudes manipulated by powerful private interests for personal or minority group ends, or to have mass opinions guided by a national State in the pursuit of some idealized plan of social well-being and order? In this connection, the case against the manipulation of mass opinions and social attitudes by private or corporate interests pursuing personal or minority group ends, is that these manipulators have no concern with, or responsibility for, public order. They ask freedom to use economic power to manipulate mass opinions and emotions, but decline all responsibility for the social consequences. The State, or those in charge of government, can never act with such irresponsibility, for, after all, it is those in charge of government—not those in

charge of counting-houses—who, in a crisis, must deal with the hungry and unemployed mob and must ensure that the trains run and the banks reopen.

Liberal theory may be said to regard the great social institutions through which the characters, minds, and attitudes of the people are formed somewhat as one might have regarded the village well in a 17th century English hamlet. The well was free for every one, who could take from it as much water as he wanted. It was run by no one, and had no social purpose. It was a social institution which was just used by everyone as he saw fit, and which was never, as a practical matter, subject to serious misuse or abuse by any one. For one thing, water in England was abundant. For another, people in 17th century

England used comparatively little water, and had no reason to misuse the well. Any selfish person who might have thought of establishing a monopoly over the well would have been dealt with adequately by the town constables-if not by a few strong armed villagers.

Up to about the middle of the 19th century the press and the platform, like the village well, were, more or less, institutions' available for the free and equal use of those competent to use them. When rich men patronized the arts and letters, their demands and impositions were of socially slight significance. Once the monopoly of the State religion was broken sufficiently to allow substantial tolerance of other forms of worship (from about the beginning of the 18th century in England) different social ideas then current competed in a fairly free market and on terms of a considerable degree of equality.

The radical British liberals, utopians, socialists, and idealists of the late 18th and early 19th centuries had practically as much access to the public mind as the extreme conservatives. For the small elite of literate persons to

whom such ideas were accessible, there was considerable freedom both in presenting and accepting ideas. Capitalists had not yet begun to use mass propaganda. In England, they controlled Parliament through the rotten boroughs, in which a handful of personal employees or friends of the lord of the manor would elect him or his designate. With the reform of the rotten boroughs in England toward the middle of the 19th century, with the enlargement of the franchise, and with the growth of population of the United States from the time of Andrew Jackson on, the powerful economic interests began to find it necessary to buy political control more and more through the instrumentalities of those institutions now under discussion, namely, those which educate with definite social purposes.

Up to the middle of the 19th century the masses had not acquired enough economic importance or buying power to make it worthwhile for capitalists to buy up control of the colleges, newspapers, and intellectual leaders as instruments of mass control, business promotion, and property protection. Up to the beginning of the era of nearly universal literacy and suffrage, the consumers of intellectual products were a critical, discriminating, and strongly opinionated elite. They were persons of high personal cultivation and well-grounded tastes. On the intellectual elite of the 17th and 18th centuries the arts of modern advertising and propaganda would have been largely wasted.

The 18th century Americans who read the heavy political literature of that period, such as was produced by the Adams, Jefferson, Monroe, Hamilton, and Franklin, would have furnished no market for the arts of the contributors to the popular publications of our day.

Those Americans of the elite were doubtless wrong in their opinions as often, or as much, as the Americans of

today, but they were able to expound and defend their opinions. Whereas the masses who get their opinions from subsidized institutions at the present time can only repeat them parrot-like in the terms in which advertising and propagandizing technique have planted such ideas in their minds. Most of the liberal assumptions about freedom of speech and the press presuppose that the written and spoken word is addressed mainly to an elite which maintains high standards of critical judgment.

Modern democracy and mass purchasing power, really, are most to be blamed for the creation of a selfish interest in the control and use of the institutions which can be made to educate with any desired purposes. The modern lobby is the creature of liberal democracy. It pays to advertise. It pays to educate the public to your purposes. Because it pays to educate the public to suit anti-social purposes, the liberal assumptions are fallacious and in this respect the fascist principles are inevitable. The more money you can make, the more you can control public education. Fascism does not seek to end the control of might, but it does aim at ending the control of irresponsible might such as is so often exercised under liberal capitalism.

Under a desirable form of fascism for Americans, national interest should not require the same drastic measures of suppression and assimilation of institutions as have been taken in Germany in connection with the church, the press, the theatre, the moving picture and the radio. Adequate observance of the essential principle for public order simply means in this connection that all institutions which educate with a social purpose must be careful to avoid educating people to be bad citizens and must cooperate with the State in its attempts to fit people for good citizenship. There are a great many differences of opinion, taste, and personal behavior consistent with satisfactory observance of the

principle just stated. Different people can have different ways to suit their different types of personality and different personal aptitudes. Different people can also be educated to be good citizens in different ways, or through playing different roles.

It is not a difficult matter to pick out a hundred lessons in bad citizenship which are being given currently by our educative press, movies, radio, or schools. What is needed in this respect is less talk about an abstract freedom, which is essentially anarchy if really applied, and more effort to develop a rational technique of control through purposive education, with a view to making such education serve the ends of social welfare and order. Such effort must not be restricted to the field of child training but must be exercised in the entire field of purposive education of adults. Every social institution which is used to educate people with definite social purposes must be made to cooperate with the national plan. There must be no anti-social formation of character, mind, or group attitudes by any institution if it can be prevented. The rest of this chapter is devoted to a discussion of the problem of educational control, with reference especially to the school, which is a recognized educator with a social purpose. Most of what is said here in connection with the school *(the reprinted article referred to above)* will be found to apply equally to all institutions which are used to educate with definite social purposes.

"To say that the school should be used to influence positively attitudes favoring one or another type of social living seems to me merely the making of the trite observation that the school ought to do what it has always done and what it cannot help doing. The school cannot help imparting knowledge of social facts or ideas. That, of course, is its special business. But it is also one of the daily performances of every human institution. It is not the

peculiar feature of the school that it educates. Its most distinctive peculiarity is that it educates with consciously conceived and willed purposes. Those purposes are mainly to serve the supposed interests of the prevailing social order, or, really, certain interests conceived and willed by the dominant classes. It is one of the peculiar delusions that the school is the chief educator of the community. All human institutions are educators. The school, however, unlike the market place, for instance, educates with avowed purposes.

"An academically popular superstition about the school is the notion that social facts or ideas are objects which the school can dispense like cigarettes wrapped in cellophane."

Facts and ideas are not objects. They are personal experiences. Social facts or ideas are not things existing outside and independently of the knowing, understanding, or judging person. To whatever extent the school teaches social facts, the school causes persons to undergo certain peculiarly personal experiences which involve the processes of the reason and the emotions, or processes which take place in the torso as well as the skull.

Ideas about patriotism, religion, sex, and art are apprehended mainly in the sub-cranial areas. One of the conditions precedent to the occurrence of the learning, knowing, thinking, or judging experiences is the continuous maintenance of a set of attitudes towards the prevailing type of social living and towards any other social scheme actually operative somewhere in the world or merely imagined, should such other scheme or schemes condition the given experience of the person.

"To suppose a person knowing a social fact independently of an attitude towards the social scheme in which he lives, and towards other social schemes which may affect his thinking and feeling, is as senseless as it would be to talk of

weighing an object which was assumed to be floating through space an infinite and, hence, unknown distance from any planet. What gives sense to a personal experience (call it intellectual or emotional as you will) with a social fact or idea, is the relation or attitude of the person to his own and other social planets. We must reckon with the attraction or pull and also the repulsion of the social system operating on the individual in order to teach him a social fact.

"In the processes of education or knowledge and thought we can do things only with persons equipped with attitudes towards the social scheme. Every educational experience affects such attitudes and is affected by them, just as the movement of every object on this planet affects the earth's gravity and is affected by it. A person not equipped with and using, every moment of his conscious life, and particularly in respect to every intellectual experience, a set of attitudes towards the social scheme, is a hopeless idiot. He is not the mythical student with the objective mind.

"The school is expressly charged with the function of contributing to the formation of attitudes as a part of the processes of causing persons to undergo the experiences of learning, thinking, and judging. As the school specialist is normally the hired man and an instrument of government of those who exercise a directive influence over government in the broadest sense of the term, the school normally aims to create right attitudes towards the prevailing social order.

"Right, of course, is always a relative. A right attitude is an attitude which suits the purposes of the conceptual scheme of some person or the purpose of causing some given course of events to happen. There are, naturally, as many right attitudes or as many rights as there are conceptual schemes or courses of events, the realization of which would constitute a purpose to be served. Where such

purposes conflict, whatever serves the realization of one's own preferred scheme is one's own standard of right. Civilization or social order is a matter of having a large group of people accept the same scheme or right.

As a practical matter, any realizable scheme of interests or purposes of an individual, however selfish or reprehensible the person or the purposes may be considered, has to be a scheme which integrates the person in a social pattern.

"Therefore, all rational or realizable personal schemes are social or collectivistic. They cannot have the qualities of a specious individualism which are found in the contrary-to-fact hypotheses of certain confused minds. The isolated-man-on-a-desert-isle situation is never a reality. Most of the talk about individualism versus collectivism going the rounds today is a sheer confusion of terms, ideas, and issues. A working capitalism, for instance, is ex-hypothesis and according to Adam Smith, a collectivism of freedom of contract. If it breaks down, it breaks down because its collectivistic characteristics fail, or, specifically, because the motives and mechanisms of the free market in their operation no longer secure the collectivistic result of an efficient and social cooperation of the factors of production.

"Why these motives and mechanisms so fail, or why capitalism fails in its collectivism, is another story. For the explanation you can try Marx, J.A. Hobson, Spengler, or Freud. The first purpose of any social scheme is to work. Whatever makes it work is right for it. If it works well as a system, it must involve the cooperation of a lot of people, for whom it must work well enough to secure their cooperation. People may cooperate with the social scheme by fleecing or being fleeced, by sending their first born to Groton or, throwing him into the Ganges.

"The right attitudes which the school is supposed to inculcate are those which suit the purposes of the system, or

make it work. If the social order is destroying itself, or, to be more accurate, if it is being destroyed by agencies and forces which are integral parts of its organic life, it will naturally follow that the well run school will serve those purposes.

"It may be objected that suicide cannot be a rational purpose of anyone or anything. But why not? In the life cycle of a human being, processes innate in his being begin destroying him as soon as he reaches maturity and achieve their work forty to a hundred years later. These processes are constantly killing Platos and Edisons, and breeding Jukes and Dillingers. It just is not one of the purposes of the course of events we may call life to make one person or one civilization live forever. The school will be as instrumental in the processes of culture degeneration as in the processes of culture generation. The idea that the right sort of education will preserve a civilization from decay is as absurd as the notion that the right sort of medicine or science will keep people from ever dying.

"In a dying civilization the school will naturally be the tool of the decadent elite until the vigorous barbarians of the new order, also of the elite (the outs over any length of time are always barbarians), capture the state and the government. "If a realist feels moved to change his civilization he may seek spiritual leadership or political power, or both. In the one case, he may go into the wilderness and eat locusts and wild honey; in the other case, he may pick the crown of France out of the gutter with the point of his sword. In neither case will the drama of his passion for power over men be played in the role of an instrument of the order he abhors or despises.

"In government or politics, ultimately you either buy or shoot your way, or both. The cross, the crescent, the hammer and sickle, and the swastika, alike, have shot their way to power. The social revolutionist usually cannot buy

his way; often he or his disciple can shoot his way. The school man can do neither. He follows those who can and do buy or shoot their way.

"There have been civilizations in which men at times accumulated successfully the functions of school teaching, political command, and spiritual leadership. Medieval Christendom, with its all-embracing spiritual synthesis, furnishes an example."

Modern capitalism, by carrying to absurd extremes the principles of division of labor or specialization, separation instead of coordination of powers, and atomic fractionalization instead of purposive synthesis of social factors, has rendered this accumulation of the governing functions of the priest, the teacher, the soldier, and the administrator quite impossible. Hence, political government tends to be the work of specialists whose type pattern is the Tammany politician; economic government tends to be the work of specialists whose type pattern is a man of the Mitchell or Insull sort; while teaching tends to be the work of specialists whose type pattern is a frustrated old maid.

"It is, of course, possible for the superman to pass from the school to the White House, just as a Persian in the present century passed from stable boy to king. The point, however, is that the school, under modern capitalism, cannot be integrated with the highest mechanisms or personalities of government and social control. Exceptionally, a prophet or spiritual leader at war with the existing order, instead of serving as its docile instrument of mass conditioning for three square meals a day, will accumulate the functions of minor prophecy and petty pedagogy. If he continues to do so, it is because his influence is too negligible to warrant his dismissal. Ultimately, the *amour propre*, even of a very minor prophet, will require some substantial tribute to his effectiveness, such as a

sensational dismissal can afford. Major prophets must either be crucified or crowned (king of kings and lord of lords) or both, for only such supreme tributes can satisfy the ego of a man big enough to impose his ideal on his fellow men.

"The social ideal of the prevailing system should be made explicit by the school. A contrary ideal should not be given a chance of success with any significant number of students. The educational theory that a scale of views and situations should be presented to the student in the hope that attitudes requisite for orderly social living under the given scheme will develop by the processes of individual selection is wholly fallacious. Either the theory is a misrepresentation of what is actually undertaken and accomplished in the educational enterprise, or else the theory is a statement of what has never been practiced and what, if tried out, would result immediately in social anarchy. It is hard enough to preserve sanity in the machine age. The difficulties ought not to be aggravated by gratuitous misrepresentations of the educational process.

"Keeping sane requires that we recognize as the chief end of social agencies, including the school, the maintenance and enrichment of the social order, not the production of individuals as isolated entities, or disembodied personalities endowed with the faculty of living in or out of the social scheme as they may choose. The chief function of purposive education has to do with catching human beings in their formative years and integrating them into the social scheme as far as that can be done in youth. The end of this integration is a social order, not the formation of a lot of personal entities supposedly free either to fit themselves into society or not, mainly as the preference of each may incline him. As Hobbes taught, life is the war of all against all. One of the ends of any civilization is to mitigate the evils of this anarchy by resolving considerable groups of people

into workable schemes of social organization which permit of social cooperation and the consequent enjoyment of some degree of order and peace in the world during lengthy periods of time.

"Now, few persons in the first twenty or thirty years of their lives, even if given access to the world's fund of social knowledge and Socrates for a tutor, could evolve a workable conceptual scheme of society of their own into which to fit themselves. And, if a number of people worked out such schemes, the schemes would all differ, whereas only one scheme of society could be operative for a large group. The problem of civilization is to make one social scheme operative for a given people, and this means, among other requisites, that it must be made explicit. The problem of the school is to help fit people into that scheme. Any opposite philosophy of civilization and education is absurd, impractical, and vicious. It is absurd, because no social order that has order can allow its schools to train people in ways deliberately calculated to make large numbers of them enemies of the social order. It is absurd because the premise of an individual in awful isolation from his group, is untenable for any useful hypothesis of social organization.

Such An Individual Cannot Exist

"The theory of educating individuals rather than citizens is impractical for the same reasons. And it is vicious because it involves an educational technique of false rationalizations and deceit which contributes to mental and emotional unbalance, and because it creates a large number of enemies of the social order who do not become creative revolutionists but frustrated escapists, futilely flitting between a real world where they are unfulfilled and a fantasy world of wishful thinking where nothing is ever fulfilled except insanity.

"The escapists produced by an educational technique combining the worst of Bentham and Marx with the best of neither become split personalities. Part of the time they are trying to adjust themselves to a bread and butter job, and the other part of the time they are trying to adjust social reality to personal fantasy by impotent manifestations of hate and bitterness. Because we admire Socrates and Jesus is no reason why we should suppose that the purpose of the school, necessarily conducted by a host of salaried mediocrities, is to create social rebels. The social rebels will happen just as surely as civilizations rise and fall, or as men are born and die. They will happen in spite of the school, not because of it.

"The school must be one of the instruments of government of the group culture. The group culture should be the expression of the will of the dominant element of the elite, whose values are validated by the power to enforce them. This method of validating values is the only one by which an argument can ever be ended and cooperative activity made possible. You can have social order only to the extent that you can settle arguments or end conflicts, even if only temporarily. The boundaries of the dominant elite and the rebellious elite mark the only significant class cleavage. The masses divide naturally among the warring groups of the elite. As the elite are the leaders, the directives lie with them. Directions of social trends are determined by them. Education does not make or unmake the elite. It equips them and increases their social distance from the masses. It raises their potentialities as instruments of creation, destruction, and combat, processes which make up the mysterious drama of life.

"Purposive education and the technique of mass guidance are purely instrumental in the many enterprises of the leaders. These instrumentalities neither select nor validate

ultimate values. Nor do they materially determine ultimate results of conflicts. No single instrumentality won the War. A preponderance of force factors determined it. Both sides used the same factors-machine guns, schools, tanks, press, etc. There can be no conflict except between classes or groups which have approximately the same instruments or force factors. (God and justice are with all the belligerents.) This is a fact that Marxists disregard. There is no important conflict today between the hungry and well-fed in America, because command and possession of the force factors is with the well-fed.

Foxes and rabbits don't fight. Today fighting has to be done by soldiers. Decisive conflict is between those who can command soldiers—not mere voters or trade union members. "A kind, humane civilization should realize the following two conditions. First, it must suit my purposes as a person, or it must give me a suitable function as an individual. Every individual must be the center of his ethical or social scheme. For an individual there can be no validity to a social scheme in which he has no place. Whether the scheme suits him and whether he suits the scheme depends mainly on who he is and what social conditioning has made him. Let not this placing of the individual at the center of his own ethical system be called individualism. It is the purest collectivism. Any collectivism must successfully integrate a considerable number of individuals, for each of whom the collectivism centers around himself and his role. This merely means that the social scheme fits the individual and the individual fits the scheme. The point is that if the scheme works, those in charge of the social scheme will purposefully direct most of the fitting, and some of their most useful fitters will be the school-man and the priest. God, right, truth, and beauty are personal experiences.

"To be successfully adjusted, an individual does not have

to have two cars or even a full stomach. He merely needs to have a place, or, to belong. The social system may fit me and I may fit it, I being a barefooted, penitent pilgrim, a missionary to the lepers, or a plumed knight in shining armor. People don't mind suffering. On the contrary, some of them love to suffer all of the time, and all of them love to suffer some of the time. What people cannot endure is not belonging. The tragedy of capitalism—unemployment-does not inherit in the phenomena of want and privation, but in the spiritual disintegration of large numbers of people from the group culture. Hitler can feed millions of his people acorns, and, yet, if he integrates them in a spiritual union with their community, they will be happier than they were while receiving generous doles from a regime which gave them no such spiritual integration with the herd. In so far as the school is a force for spiritual integration it is mightier than the dole.

"A second set of requisites of a humane civilization is that the dominant elite should know what they want, that they should give the people what they think best for the people, and that they should make the people both like and fit the scheme. The elite always determine what the masses get. Nowhere is this more apparent than in present-day Communist Russia, which enjoys an oversimplified dictatorship of the proletariat and of everybody else in Russia) by certain of the elite. The elite leaders are a permanent power-holding or power-seeking class. When one set of the elite kicks out another, it is merely the old story of "The King is dead! Long live the King!" The average man goes on doing as he is told. It makes little difference to him whether his surplus goes to building private yachts for capitalists or an air fleet for the Soviet Commissars. Whatever the elite impose on the people, they should use good educational technique to make the people like.

Whatever the elite demand of the people, they should use good educational technique to enable the people to do. This is the work of purposive education. Conditioning a people to like what they have and to do their part is a simple exercise in educational technique. The real difficulty arises not out of the inadequacy of educational technique but out of the failure of the elite to have unity in emotional responses or intellectual clarity as to ultimate values and objectives. In these matters the instrumental or purposive education of the school is of minor importance. The struggle for existence must educate and unify men's hearts and clarify their minds in ways to produce a dominant or efficient group of the elite.

"In so far as the school does a good job for its masters, who are never the schoolmasters, the school population will be in the rear-guard of social revolution. The education of the struggle for existence, however, sometimes gets at the student population, as it has done in most European countries which have not so effectively insulated their youth against the currents of social ideas, as the country club atmosphere of our colleges, or the kindergarten atmosphere of our lower schools, have done for our youth. In America today, the important social education is going on in shanty town, the bread line, the code conferences, mortgage foreclosure sales, and the relief committees.

The social teaching of the schools, particularly in economics, ethics, and law, is largely out of date, contrary to experience, irrelevant, and trivial. So are most of the teachers. The American schools have no teachers of the social importance of educators like the late Huey Long and Father Coughlin: "***The pupils of the latter will fight and die for what they are being taught; the school pupil may vicariously fight on the playing fields for dear old Siwash, but he won't fight for what Siwash professors***

are teaching. The founders of Siwash had a fighting faith; but the endowed pensioners of Siwash deem it bad form to have a conviction."

"There is an irony and a moral in the social insignificance of the American school in the present crisis. No school has ever been more popularized, praised, petted, or pampered with money. It has been the kept darling of the plutocracy and the idolized plaything of the masses. In the main, neither group has numbered many devotees of any scheme of civilized values. Serious interest in the school has centered around getting a technical preparation, or useful connections for money-making, or else around getting a job in the schools. For the masses, the school is a necessary process to enable them to read signs and advertisements. For the more favored the school has been a playground.

"The moral is obvious. The school realizes its highest possibilities only as the instrument of a dominant elite who not only have cultural values but who also are prepared to express them in the manifold enterprises of social control, which include fighting and governing as well as teaching.

"The American school will come into its own when it becomes alive with the spirit of men of strong convictions and iron wills to achieve. The school will be an instrument of a high culture when it recognizes fulfillment, achievement, and deeds to be the test of truth, right, and beauty, not normative verbalisms, the precise meaning and correct application of which men can and will go on disagreeing about to the end of time. In short, the school can only attain its highest dignity or fulfill its noblest destiny as an integrated part of the creative machinery of a civilization."

THE INEVITABILITY OF THE LEADERSHIP

OF THE ELITE

"Every social order is essentially a phenomenon of leadership, for leadership is one of the most important or significant things about it. As a scheme of purposes, a social order is mainly the expression of the composite will of a dominant class and, as a body of achievements, it is largely the result of the leadership, management, choices, social planning, and control exercised by members of a minority. It seems useful to give this minority of more than average influence and power a name. That name will be "the elite." ***Lawrence Dennis***

THE NIETZSCHEAN MAN

'The Superman or uber mensch'

Interpretative translation by ***H. R. Morgan*** (2013)

(Special note from the editor: **Ubiratan Pimentel** *was right; it is truly disgusting when movement 'leadership' turns against their own in order to placate and satisfy the whims of liberalism and to attempt to defend their organization from the criticisms of the odious enemy.—HRM)*

LET US NOW look into the ideas of the Nietzschean man. This is an idea which has caused much controversy. However controversial this ideology may be, it is pertinent to the modern day social and political belief systems of many nations throughout the world.

The idea of the 'superman' is one which is deserving of consideration. There are many peoples in this world who desire such a concept to be realized within their cultural ranks. The idea of the superman is widespread and is a conceptual ideal.

I shall attempt to reveal its concepts, ideals, programmatic norms, as well as the methodology by which such a personal creation may be achieved. And, the first precept toward realization of the superman to be pursued is that he, first of all, must be ethical. He must be moralistically inclined; he must be honest and he must be integralistically sound.

The superman will have to be one who is not doubted. His words must speak volumes of verifiable truth. He will have to be, without any doubts, a man of unquestionable

principle; a personage who's statements are without question. He will be the profound fountainhead of wisdom to which all citizens may come to for accurately succinct and worthy responses.

Is this asking too much? I think not. There is such a possibility. A superman may exist. He is capable of existing among us; he is quite able to reflect the collective consciousness of an entire people; he *(or 'she')* dwells amongst us at this very moment and it would not be too great of a problem to locate them and to search them out.

The main problem will be in finding those who meet such criteria who are willing to assume such an important position. Yes, the assumption of such a position in society will entail much personal inconvenience. Hours and certain days of the week must be established so that the cultural adviser might be able to live their own life.

'The Integral Man Would Be the Same as the Superman of Nietzsche' Only Minus the Atheistic Brutality'

Given the general complaint, our companion, Patel, gave his public explanation which was very much needed.

1. Despite the manifesto which was very much needed for young people of all ages, because as the slogan of the national head Plinio Salgado, with Integralism no body grows old; we couldn't ignore the chronologically younger readers for which the term "Superman" is familiar and would certainly have acceptance.

2. Plinio Salgado himself used the term "Superman", but, conceptualizing it differently from that of Nietzsche. Though Salgado later replaced "Superman" with "top-man", precisely to prevent confusion. Here are the exact words of Plinio Salgado: *"Clearly, after such a long period, in which we never rested in the study of human problems and having had*

to exercise over the nationalism of myself to a rigorous self criticism, how much previously had been written concerned with everything, which if paid, the deformed interpretations of doctrine that might grow. My most recent works have gained in clarity of exposition and in stylistic ability and didactic s, performing with the terminology and expressions better suited to translation of thought, of Christian spiritualism, and Brazilian nationalism which is the backbone of my philosophical-political construction."

3. This being an unquestioned fact, their Fundamentalism and Orthodox character, could not avoid using the expression of "Superman", as used in the manifesto (1937) of the "Superman" of Nietzsche.

Such explanations were completely and perfectly accepted by the old guard, which considered them satisfactory and abundantly correct, having the manifesto of JI, which had been wide spread in the media, circulating as a Fundamentalist pamphlet and being published in journals like the Fundamentalists publication 'Alert' by the late Buddy Arcy Lee.

Today, after so many years, a whole new generation has approached the Sigma, but, however, many of the young people have some slightly misleading ideas about our doctrine. "*Without accurate knowledge of our ideas, hearing about their support of the concepts of 'heroic' life and Revolutionary life",* of the ideal of the *"Top-man", "Superman", "Man", and "the New Man"* and without worrying about apprehending and learning what we mean by such expressions, associated with Integralisms ideological understanding of the Nietzschean "Superman". We therefor have a duty to clarify and to expose The Integral Man, as the brilliant concept proposed by Plinio Salgado confronting humanity with the "Superman" of Nietzsche; it is the 'Total Man', '*The Ethical Man'*, 'The Top-

Man', 'The New Man', '*The Socially Complete Man'*, and, finally *'The Revolutionary Man'*.

Through Nietszsche's discrediting of God and his despising of the Man, particularly to the current and contemporary German (circa 1939), the entire work of Nietzsche is the fruit of an existential necessity of trying to forge a philosophy to replace the Protestant Christian belief system by what had been created.

So, with Nietzsche, God is replaced by "earth", the immortality of the soul by "eternal return"; to replace our Lord Jesus Christ he invents 'Zarathustra' (not to be confused with the Zarathustra or the Zoroaster of history); he proposes the transmutation of all values, the adoption of the "morale of the gentlemen" to replace the "morale of the slaves", i. e. Christian morals; this new man who; is weak and cowardly in his understanding must be supplanted by the "Superman", proud and without a false or put on compassion. Regrettably, the entire escape from such a state of servile wretchedness and from the spiritually imposed limits endemic in such a human condition; by examining the philosophy of Nietzsche and by matching it with the Integralist philosophy, let us therefor be "Supermen".

Not recognizing any reality beyond the material, Nietzsche admitted to man only a dimensional body, without a soul, nor any form of postmortem survival, except for the "eternal return". However, Nietzsche say only in mankind his vices and his weaknesses—futile, vain, liars, viz. petty, petty, petty convenience, etc.—and attributed to Christianity the origin of such evils, complete with their "slave morality", and a penchant towards nihilism. So, stuck on the evolutionary ideas of the era in which he lived, states that mankind's only role is to be the link between the ape and the Superman. This Superman would be master of his own destiny, creator of his own tablet of moral values, and

an aristocrat would only know him as his own equal, which is to say, another "Superman". Everything that Christianity recognizes as edifying moral values—humility, patience, love of neighbor, etc. Are non-existent in the weakened pre-Superman cultivated from other 'virtues', while the Superman cultivates the highest virtues and the most beautiful; in their restlessness they claim "I believe in life". Here are the moral virtues of the Superman, compassion within reason, selfless sacrifice, amorality for ideological betterment, a total and complete concern for society, and the free exercise of patriotic will-power.

The Superman is the maximum exultation of the inner revolutionary self as well as unbridled action.

Plinio Salgado continually preached of the Inner Revolution—the revolution of the human soul. Nietzsche's Superman did not offer a complete program for the internal spiritual renewal as did Plinio Salgado's program for the Inner Revolution, and because of this it is the "Superman" of Salgado that is what all Integralistas should strive for.

Here's what the boss said about Nietzsche in a speech in the Federal Chamber, November 39th. 1961:

"Conceptions of man Emerged, the most varied in the last century which still influence powerfully in the minds of our time; all of them stick into the fragmentary interpretations, or confusing. Let's examine a few. The design of Friedrich Nietzsche, understand it, based on English and emotionalism dominant in materialism in almost the whole of Europe, that the man is a just transition of the accomplishment of the man of the future. Preached the theory of 'Superman' un-Christian, contrary to the whole idea of pity, or complacency. Preached the doctrine of pride and cruelty, and justified by the evolution of our species and materialistic theories all human attitude towards the ambition of power."

"This conception of man, ('agigantado') *giant-like man of an agency* which exceeds the mid-line of your own reality, had opposed the Marxist concept of the human being. The Marxist concept is contrary to Friedrich Nietzsche, who conceived the (agigantado) *giant-like* man, the strong man, the violent man, the proud man, enemy of all Christian kindness. Friedrich Nietzsche was sincere, was one of the most sincere men of his time. Anti-Christian, preached openly anti-Christianity, already in his book, '**Thus Spoke Zarathustra',** audacious pages already of the anti-Christ, which stresses in expressions of his atheism, materialism and their message urging violence, arbitrariness, and the 'domain'."

At a conference pronounced in 1944, during his exile in Portugal, Plinio Salgado will make the following paradoxical weights:

"It is curious to note how both invest (*inveigh—HRM*) furiously against Christianity. While Nietzsche accuses the doctrine of Christ to be the doctrine of sadness, of subservience, of humiliation, both Nietzsche and Marx did not consider the human creature in that sense of proportionality that we came from the Gospel and that it expresses itself in such a harmonious manner in the 'perennial philosophy' of Thomas Aquinas."

"Nietzsche saw the man, but the ravenous ambition in hypertrophied and monadic in the expansion of all the barbaric forces of relentless violence and the senseless dream of power and glory. Is Superman crushing all moral prejudices and sacrificing their fellow in the building of a world of refulgent castles and legendary heroes. Is the human being repelling charity and humility, as negative virtues to the conviviality of the forts and splendid forging the heart like cold steel swords."

"Marx also saw the man, however, (amesquinhado) and

reduced by selfishness vulgar and aspiration to a leveling of expressive marks destructor of personality. The man shifted the natural groups, isolated on individualism, then sprayed by Capitalist competition and crunches 'lasses cluta'; Finally in the cast of the revolution and transformed into (rebojo) simple molecule in the amorphous mass of plasmal fodder the taste of cruel leaders. No more Superman of Nietzsche, but the Sub-Man, the Homo Economicus which reduced the Homo Sapiens; the man without God, no country, no family, no morals and—what is more painful!—No what your selfishness loved more: his freedom."

"Yes, this famous freedom that both told him was just a scaffold for the construction of Socialist building; and now, that the construction will be over, what use is freedom or to hide the work of great architects?"

"This is *where Marx & Nietzsche meet*. Started from opposite ends but reaching the same Pinnacle *high destination*. Both *being* sons of the individualism of Rousseau, of the scientific materialism, and taking a same basis of their reasoning's the ruthless selfishness of man hoping to satisfy his instincts: the first proclaims the right of ethnically and biologically privileged is raise (dominadoramente) about the masses, while the second claims to the masses the right to absorb all humans in uniform expression of a mind-blowing collectivism."

"Creates *the monster of human singularity* Nietzsche fierce as the ancient gods, resulting in their grazing appetites crowds spineless. Creates the monster Human Plurality Marx, terrifying and dark, feeding on the characters' personality, erasing specific reliefs and polishing edges of everything that the man could reveal the originality of his spirit."

"However, to be the Superman of Nietzsche, it is necessary that there is a collective mass of Sub-Men of

Marx. And for that there is the Marxist collectivism we exist Supermen, leaders of Physiognomy, structure, and design sensitivity of life exactly the same described in the dominant type, engendered by the powerful delusion of Nietzsche."

And in this way the two most eloquent antithesis, created in the 19th century, meet and merge in the same delusional expression of a world of brutality and demotion, the Man which intends to take the Thrown that God granted him from the moment when the clay was animated by divine breath of the creator."

"It is not for us to admire the two thoughts—those of Frederick Nietzsche and of Karl Marx—have given rise to standards of living in all similar and so contrary to the sense of balance and harmony that comes from the Christian religion."

And, at the Faculdade de Direito do Recife, in 1933, Plinio Salgado will tell us

"However, opposed to the mediocrity of bourgeois thought, and the opportunism of Marx's supporters, conformists raised their voice in the 19th century, which vibrated as a universal protest. Was the voice of Friederick Nietzsche."

"Against the low individualism of liberal democracy, and against collectivism, that is the annihilator of the human personality. But the stark thought of the creator of Zarathustra has the value of a revolt, hissing like a whip of fire in the faces of that scientific century."

"In Nietzsche, to show, found the anti-Christian attitude to be contemptuous to the humble, of glorification of superior men. Reprehensible attitude of pride, (superdivinizacao) of heroes, she had the merit, however, as

certain as we are that sometimes God will speak through the mouths of His own enemies, the instant that outlined the march (coletivizadora), the complete cancellation of the individual, who was about to become part of the machine, this is the ultimate truth: the"

"And Nietzsche is the large Lunette, by the time that the man I was was beginning to lose moral stature and disappearing, enslaved in the dough."

"This is why today we note that Nietzsche was also an excerpt from truth, misrepresented by the exaggerated projections that presented itself."

"I had to show Marx, to show the consequences of a materialist civilization. Marx, of course, is the interpreter of the bourgeoisie, speaking a strange language, that the materialistic society, in awe, does not recognize. This 'voice' of Marx, is your own 'voice'."

"He wants the destruction of the individual, which will be assimilated, forever, into the monster collective of *Marxian obscurity.*

* * *

The following text is a very good example of Fascist ideological disciplines. Senhor Carvalho has managed to capture, in a very brief summary, the joining of Fascist ideology with an doctrine of action.

It is still another characteristic of Fascism that under any and all conditions they mean what they say. If they make a threat to the national enemies one can be certain that they are immediately prepared to carry it out. If they say they are going to rebuild abandoned factories so that the people can find work, be sure that they will do it, and they will do it

without endless debates as to how and when it will be done, they will just do it. And, it will be accomplished as soon as possible.

INTEGRALISM UNDER ADVERSE CONDITIONS

By ***Pedro Baptista de Carvalho*** (2009)
Interpretative translation by ***H. R. Morgan*** (2013)

INTEGRALISM MUST BE analyzed under two aspects, not like two things, but two aspects of the same thing: on one side the Integralist doctrine in all its extension, all its comprehensiveness; on the other hand is Brazilian Integralism as the instrument through which the doctrine will be put into all its extension, all its comprehensiveness; on the other hand, Brazilian Integralism is the instrument through which the doctrine will be put into practice. *(**Note:** this is 'actualization' or 'realization'—HRM)*

Exercising its action in Brazil through intense cultural effort, through *(educational and instructive or training)* courses, conferences and lectures and the research at the center of for national problems and for human studies; organized towards the greater efficiency of a civic and moral teaching of preparation of youth and of a social Ministry aiming at broad grassroots assistance; instructing the Brazilian people about what we know of their tradition, their realities, their possibilities, of their future, which is done by means of newspapers, magazines, and rallies of speakers who have acted in the countryside and in small towns, promoting a real awakening of "consciences". It is a movement which has a doctrine based upon Christian foundations, whose motto is 'God, homeland and Family'.

Acting on condition of teaching, whereby, the AIB (Acao Integralismo), is an essentially ideological movement.

Encouraging the 'massification' process, which, from its earliest days, already wielded great influence in society, recommending the unity of all Brazilians, and the respect for properly constituted authority.

Plinio Salgado has written "a nation, to prosper in peace, to see the peoples' efforts bear fruit, and for achieving prestige both within and abroad, needs to possess a full awareness of the principle of authority. **We need an authority which is capable of taking concise initiatives for the benefit of all as well as each and every individual; able to avoid the domination and influence of the rich, the powerful, the well monied foreigners, and the special interest political groups that try to exert influence over the decisions of Government which are extremely damaging to the fundamental interests of the nation.**

"The Authority" considers Integralism as a unifying force which ensures convergence and balance of individual wills and employs exploitation of the energies of the nation for the collective good of the citizenry and of the country. Needed are hierarchy and discipline, without which there will be disorder.

Integralism is not contrary to freedom.

Integralism considers society as the moral and necessary Union of beings living harmoniously according to their superiors destined goals and intentions for a collective national progress.

Integralism considers the State as an institution essentially political; legal owner of the principles of wisdom to perform the full unit of the nation; coordinating and setting a single guideline for all groups, and the competent streamlining of all vital forces. In designing the Integralist State, is the supreme and administrative authority of the nation, controlled and guided in all of its' vital dynamism,

subject, however, to the imperatives of natural hierarchy, social harmony, and the common good of all Brazilians.

We are in a great national movement, to affirm the value of Brazil and of everything that is useful and beautiful in character and in Brazilian customs; to unite all Brazilians in one spirit, all of which are still at the heart of their greatest love and enthusiasm for Brazil. We must rely on our glorious traditions, we must affirm as a people United and strong, which absolutely nothing can divide nor split us apart. Nationalism is not just respect for the flag and the national anthem, it is the deep consciousness of our realities, of character, or the social trends, of the aspirations of the fatherland and of the value of the people.

PARTY ANTHEM OF THE BRAZILIAN INTEGRALIST MOVEMENT

‘Avanti! Avanti!’
Brazilians march!
Avanti! Avanti!
Our Brazil shall awaken!’

‘Avanti! Avanti!
Behold a higher afterglow,
March—which is Spring,
What the country expects,
Is the new Sum!’

‘March, Brazilians, forward!
You manly youth!
Under the protections of the Cross,
We shall live for Brazil!

‘Avante! Avante!
Our beloved Brazil will march!
Avante! Avante!
Our beloved Brazil shall awaken,

‘Avante! Avante!
Behold Brazil over all others,
We march above all others,
What the nation expects, we shall give,

This is the new Sun!'

'See as the Motherland awakens,
From the most Manly youth,
With adequate gear and bravada!
This is the new Sun!
Alert and the sentinel of Brazil.'

Music and words written by Plinio Salgado

* * *

The ideal of property as well as comfort and fiscal affluence is an essential trait of human nature as instituted originally by God—the supreme creator of all life, including mankind. To deny humanity's pursuit of these things which are basic to his nature, as is found within Communist and also throughout International Finance Capitalism, goes against the laws of nature as established from the beginning by the Creator.

The selfish chasing after material wealth such as Capitalism is solely and completely involved with; the massive accumulation of property by individuals having absolutely no concern for their fellow man and donating nothing to the public welfare; the soulless hedonism and running after total pleasure and contentment in life with no concern for the starving, the homeless, the mentally ill, aged retirees with their physical and daily life's problems, that is the hallmark of the bourgeoisie; these are the proclivities exhibited by the enemies of the people, by the social class of bandits and thieves and scoundrels.

This next chapter examines these issues. The following words should be taken to heart and remembered daily inside of the human soul. All of Fascist ideology is the emanation

from the realities of natural live conditions in the world—the entire ideological premise is determined to be effective because of this reality.

* * *

CAPITALISM—PROPERTY—BOURGEOISIE

Interpretative translation by ***H. R. Morgan*** **(2013)**

By **Gustavo Barroso**

Excerpted from: *'What the Fundamentalist Should Know'* (Second Edition)—

Gustavo Barroso—Rio de Janeiro, Brazilian Civilization (1935)

THE COMMUNIST MARXIST tactic was always to create confusion between the words 'capitalism—property—wealth—
capitalism—bourgeoisie of a significant difference from exactly what these words truly mean. *Making them significantly different from the actual meanings of which they truly signify* with the sole purpose of releasing the 'classes' of the nation against each other and to more easily destroy. Integralism means to give these words their true meanings. And the Integralist ought to know that.

Capitalism is not the property; Capitalism is the regime in which the use of property becomes abuse, whereby, each individual can have, if they possess the money, speculate in order to oppress others. Capitalism is the regime in which the use of property has become obscured, because each individual can act freely and profits without worrying about the needs of the community, causing unemployment, bankruptcies, negligible wages, and the scarcity of life. Capitalism is the system in which an individual or group of individuals can 'hog' all the properties through 'trusts',

cartels and monopolies. Capitalism, is therefore, a destroyer of ‘property’.

Property should not and cannot be ignored. It can and it mu;st be disciplined. Property is the projection of the Man in the world, the guarantee for his old age and the stability of his family. Property is legitimate when it comes to honest work and when it is used in the service of the national interest. Property obtained dishonestly shall never be tolerated. It should be given to all who are deserving without ‘class’ distinction. Therefor, Integralism only admits honestly, ethically, morally, and respectfully acquired properties.

Bourgeoisie is not a ‘class’, it is a state of mind. Bourgeois is any person who thinks only of himself.; they will live only for themselves. If factory worker, if it gives them advancements, will not betray the interests of his fellow workers, if it yields misery to all of his fellow workers, and thus, cause harm to his fellow workers does not infringe upon disown increment of profits; only by the benefits of the Union and of the social peace of his fellow Brazilians if it gives them only if that gives them a step on which to climb, is an ‘individualist, such as these are ‘anti-social individualists’.

The bourgeois spirit limits the horizons to personal interests. There are large numbers of workers, trade Unionists, and communist agitators who have the bourgeois spirit, as there are many people of the so-called bourgeoisie that lack *this self-centered spirit.* What you are supposed to fight is not the so-called bourgeois ‘class’, however, *but* the ‘class who wants to rule the country alone. The Integralist is against the ‘class’ struggle and therefor against the dominance of a ‘class’ or caste. The Government should be exercised by an elite which is recruited from all classes and formed by study for the fight, and by struggle, by work, and

by sacrifice. And, not by money power!

The supremacy of money power is illegitimate. The supremacy of intellectual and moral values is legitimate. Integralism wants to organize a legitimate Government.

THE INTEGRAL MAN

By **Fernando Rodrigues**

April 5th. 2003

Interpretative translation from the Portuguese by ***H. R. Morgan***

THE GENIUS OF Jackson de Figueiredo presents us with an undoubted truth to exclaim that "*life is the only way that we have to improve ourselves*", such is true. We may view the reasoning of Michel Quoist speaking of the *external* "the rose and the dog are finished creatures who were born and soon reached their maturity of perfection as a plant and an animal. Contrary to this, the greatness of man is to build and develop himself".

Thinking on these last considerations, in regard to this current phase, over the last few decades the human being has become spiritually mutilated; its astonishing "*whose emotion, sensitivity, imagination are disoriented; in which all are undisciplined powers, acting in control, looking out for every man for himself only for his satisfaction outside of the laws of the spirit and of the ideal.*" as teaches Quoist.

As reported, maintained, and rationalized by the mass media, modern man is only searching for an 'earthly paradise', utopia *(**Note:** in the original Greek language the word 'utopia' literally means 'nowhere'; it is a fictional ideal—HRM)*, he is only looking for immediate enjoyment; the instinctive pursuit for satisfaction, no longer is he subordinate to superior faculties of reason., reducing them to that of a mere animal.

In the light of this we refer here to the words of the great thinker, Miguel Reale, *(**Note:** Miguele Reale actually wrote the book on spiritualistic Fascism, though the current leadership of the Frente Integralismo Brasileira, due to pressure from the so called "political correctness" fad of today, denies this fact—HRM)* this is material which informs us in his book *'Paradigms of Contemporary Culture'* that *"what we have noticed, nowadays, is the anguish, the fear of not getting to take advantage of the instant in which you are living"*, and yet, *"situation of the organism as a whole civilization of contemporary culture; one could say that it is characterized, on the one hand, by the impatience for the immediacy of all pleasures that life can provide, having sex as preferred to a logically rationalized medium socially speaking, and on the other hand, by the lack of an ethical ideal, both individually and collectively, by virtue of having lost the awareness that the larger meaning of existence consists in the opportunity for spiritual improvement which life provides."*

For us to have a Full Society *(**Note:** yet another euphemism for totalitarian or corporative society—HRM)*; we must make an active reflection on the complex realities surrounding the Man of our time; and grant them the basic means for possible improvements, especially as the spiritual, that Illustrious jurist—God, has conceived the Man in his wholeness, as well as defined by Boetheus said *"a duality of their nature expressing itself in a substantial unity"*, which is to say in both body and soul.

In short, we must labor for the construction of the Integral Man, because an integral society does not arise out of sub-humans; for, such a company achieves mastery, as the late philosopher Plinio Salgado has said

"give the man physical material, everything he needs to fulfill his duties and exercise his rights —the rights necessary for one to fulfill his duties; and for the spiritual man, everything that can fulfill his thirst for the infinite."

Only in this way can we build the integral man*. The Foundation of the new society which shall achieve fairness in the Christian sense.

** The **'new man'**, the **'super man'**, or the **'ethical man';** refer to F. Nietzsche—HRM*

BRITISH INTEGRALISM: AN EXERCISE IN REALITY

Excerpted from the journal **'ATTACK!' 2013 Issue #4**
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By Comrade ***Benjamin Noyles***

"SO MAN EMERGES for the final struggle of the ages the supreme and conscious master of his fate to surmount the destiny that has reduced former civilizations to oblivion even from the annals of time . . . Man for the first time in human history carries to the crisis of his fate weapons with which he may conquer even destiny. But one compelling necessity remains that he shall win within himself the will to struggle and to conquer. Our creed and our Movement instil in man the heroic attitude to life because he needs heroism . . . For this shall be the epic generation whose struggle and whose sacrifice shall decide whether man again shall know the dust or whether man at last shall grasp the stars . . . In that high fate tomorrow we live."
Oswald Mosley '**Tomorrow We Live'** (1938)

THE SPRING WILL COME AGAIN

Think of the grain the farmer plants in the ground during the fall for the next year. How patient that man compared to us! Throughout the long cold winter the seed is dormant and there is no evidence it is even there at all under the cold earth. The ground freezes and thaws—does the farmer lie awake at night worrying about his seeds? Doubting their

effectiveness? He does not, because he knows the spring will come.

The dominant notion today is that if we talk enough and write enough, nationalist resurgence will just come about according to the same laws as the stock market boom or a winning streak. That kind of attitude is cowardly impotent hope for miracles, begging like a dog. It is not really playing the game, it is only seeking reward through submission. This is the mentality of a slave, and so slaves are the quality of men we work with today.

It is a pretty good rule that if everyone is saying something then it is probably not true; or, if it does have essential truth to it, it has been so distorted by a false emphasis that it *is* lost on its originator. And such, I believe, is much of the resurgence *of* talk we hear today.

The future will not be ours at all if we don't first risk believing that victory is possible and begin sowing the seed. We must keep the faith and put in the hard work today so that our harvest of justice does not escape us—when we see the storms of this wild age reflected in the eyes of our children. Let us act so that we will earn their eternal blessings, not their curses.

YOU ALREADY WON

A great responsibility has been laid on our shoulders. All men living are right to curse the generation before them, but when all is said and done and fate finally pours out its judgment on the world, the final question lies with us. What kind of message did we give? Were we really honest? Did we do the best that we could? Did we warn people *of* the terrible consequences if they did not alter the direction things?

"I don't know what happened, we hoped for the best but

there was nothing we could do, the enemy was strong, we didn't fight so we lost our country, it just happened."

Or

"Those were dark days, but I am proud to say that I was there and others came to; it was a bitter fight, we never lost hope because we had a plan and we knew the score, and most of all we had an idea. Nothing could stop us" Our hopes will come true in their world and our ideals will be reality.

Now more than at any other time in generations, the believer is in a position to go on the attack. We are lost on a great myopic ocean of false opinion—and there is only one way out, and that is with a plan everyone can see and understand. While all is still good with the world we will be the most despised people on earth, but right now we are needed desperately.

Absolute conviction alone will chart us through this rough and unknown ocean. The days of meek apology are over. We will not get the world's attention by trying to please, but by boldly declaring the truth. We will make ourselves heard not by compromise, but through hard decisions without looking back.

We are the faithful soldiers of the National Socialist idea and nothing else—we exist, and continue for the final victory of our race.

NOW IS THE TIME TO HASH THINGS OUT

To further a specific goal you must have faith, which comes only from the knowledge that you are working solely towards that end—you must become a living instrument of a

well founded belief. Household appliances can perform all kinds of tasks but without the inflow of an electrical current and an enabler who knows what he is doing they are useless lumps of metal and plastic unable to function and serve. Potential that is wasted is *not* potential at all. Appliances don't work until power and effort is applied from a dynamic outside source, and the same applies to people—they have to actually be used with a purpose in mind. We must not be dependent on abilities, but liberated from them; All the natural gifts in the world, all the intelligence and brawn amount to nothing if they are not animated by a properly thought out idea which provides the knowledge to put them to the right use. Today there are far too many who think they have a right to talk, to be creative, some of them even feel called upon to 'lead'—but in the majority of cases where they are not energized by the right belief, these men might as well have done nothing. Some misguided individuals feel that they must preserve harmony at any cost, so they do everything possible to reduce friction. They generate no heat because they have no energy—friction is the concomitant of motion. There is only one human society that has no problems—a graveyard; the dead have no difference of opinion. For many sycophants this kind of situation where everybody is let be is the ideal, but the penalty is sterility and lack of achievement. If we are going down that road, lets at least recognize and question it.

Problems are the price of progress Lets avoid unpleasant regrets and there is no danger in a machine that been shut down for the night. Just turn off the power and you will have no problem with moving. A living and expanding movement has a certain quota of difficulties as the result of its life and activity. And as dark as this hour is, it's not as dark as some of the hours you have known in European History, when everything was cowardice, treachery, and

betrayal. And when the Saracen hordes from far outside Europe swept right across that continent and would have come on over our own Britain too if they hadn't been stopped, and it didn't only happen once, it has happened more than once. Small bands of men came together in resolution, in absolute determination, giving themselves completely and saying Europe shall live. And stood firm and faced the menace to Europe, its values, its civilization, the glory of its achievement, all these things in mortal danger. And they stood firm, they faced it. They came together and more and more rallied to their standards, and those hordes were thrown back. ***Again and again and again our Europe lived in triumph because the will of Europe still endured!***

Oswald Mosley '***Make Europe A Nation'*** (Speech 1964)

Sometimes there are certain truths which are so completely obvious that the average person does not recognize them. A man can pass blindly by obvious truths and be utterly astonished when someone suddenly discovers a fact that everybody should have already known. On the basis that a fact can become so obvious in retrospect great realizations can be easily reached by great numbers of people.

The years have been filed with so much regret—errors have been made as to what was actually necessary to save this Nation and others, but when it comes to the most important question we need to ask; 'why have nationalist movements consistently failed to not only make breakthroughs, but often just to have any lasting effect at all?' Since the war we have been blundering into one tragic fiasco after the other, and with a few exceptions it has been getting worse not better. There are many events and

opportunities that are going to present themselves in the coming years but we are not ready for them. There are millions of us globally, but the infrastructure isn't there, and the people are not on our side. We know it too, and that is why in any other instance making these assertions would be extremely arrogant, because most people are actually intelligent enough to make these observations themselves. Anyone with something to share is told that he needs to take his snake oil to the back of the long shuffling line.

It is very fashionable today to give an appearance of being analytical and proactive without actually providing constructive solutions or having any kind of workable plan, and grappling with a major issue is a fantastic way of appearing significant and inflating already bloated pseudo intellectuals.

'Provocative' pessimistic observations such *as* these require no real understanding, and don't even scratch the surface.

OPTIMISM IS COWARDICE

What is common to all present plans, mentalities, and ideals as they are presented, whether they are coming out of White nationalist communities, New right 'think tanks', or whatever, is that the proposal is limited to what we can achieve as individuals: Material input ('eg' capital, effort) for material output ('eg.' votes, seats). Without a clear growth element in this cycle the idea of victory becomes infeasible, and the demoralizing effect has created a culture of powerlessness in which the only sane option is *to* avert reality as much as possible. When we ask important questions the excuses are all circumstantial with no serious reflection. For example; if only the right thing had happened, if only we had a united front, if only we had the money, if only something had happened or it had been

stopped. Solutions by implication are wish fulfillment. This is not a string of coincidences, it is clearly a consistent pattern of denial—but people will believe it, and by doing so, they close themselves to addressing these problems and actively thinking about how we can overcome them.

Those who don't believe victory is possible—make it impossible, and the same can be said for today's 'optimists' who in reality would come to the same conclusion as the pessimist if they were confronted with the truth. They trade one form of pessimism for another, and exploitative personalities with their insincere ideas feed on desperation by offering false hope. People who fight for ridiculous beliefs are victims because misplaced passions are easily led—and they feel lost. These false images are a valve to keep you locked in a prison of your own making.

Feeding into this kind of optimism just keeps you spinning your wheels and only prevents you from fulfilling your genuine role. For us it is just like rejecting the pessimist line. If we accept that we have lost this fight, then doing nothing becomes our only option, and their history becomes truth. So what do we have to lose by fighting?—Except, lets really fight this time. Because you know, what if the enemy isn't as strong as he thinks he is and this system we find ourselves in is all one big poker face? Nobody will believe you if you see that the future is bright because people have spent their time trying to be overly clever—when, really there is nothing more stupid than taking a very simple premise and weighing it down in complexity. If somebody isn't addressing the root problem then, they haven't actually added anything of substance, just bulked it out—it's just another scam. You don't have to be smart to get the truth; it is something that is felt. I feel that we have a great power and all the means available to us not only to fix

our politics, but to go to the stars.

What is being proposed here is a solution that is practical and easily understood, and it is based on an already time tested and proven method. All that *this* will take is one thing —a single leap of moral courage. Moral courage to acknowledge truth when we see it and to take it to its logical conclusion All of our problems lie in cowardice; our leaders have been backing down so long as there has been room to retreat—our people need a wall; we need to put their back to the wall. We are done mincing our words, now we need something that flames the blood and fans the honor. Now is the time to put things right. We need a catharsis—a genuine examination of issues through a deep and searching moral inventory. Friends and good ideas are nice, but they are a dime a dozen and cannot be put to use. In the end the rights and wrongs amount to nothing if they are never realized in a fight—where all truth is qualified. If you are chasing the truth it is at the end of the road because it will be truth alone that can take us down that path. In the battle for truth there can be no substitute.

NOT WITH A BANG BUT A WHIMPER

Defeat is one legitimate outcome for us—There have been defeats and tragedies in the past, but when that happened we still formed the line, and went down with the cry of 'no surrender'—generations of people could sustain that cry, waiting, until their day of liberation came. Even a defeated people are still a people, the fundamentals don't change—the enemy is known, the aims are adapted to new conditions, but they operate on the same cause that determined the original war aims. Here the dynamic is clear, and so there was an operational basis on how to organize and fight back. Let nobody talk about 'defeat' until we understand what a defeat is.

Likewise, when we talk about what a 'cause' is, we have to come to the following conclusion; it is something that is based on deep significance that can take everything and divide it up into ultimate truth and ultimate lies—a dynamic that is clear to everyone. If there is no such cause, then that magnetic world view must be created, built directly from the already existing nacient urges and different elements that are present in society—and to provide a clear context for them that moulds them into a politically charged and unified idea.

***What has happened to us is that we have been deracinated**—ripped out by the roots—in so many ways to the point where we are unable to think and to exist.* Clarity of thought and action should have been easy for us if we had been alive—as it stands *both* then and now, we are dead in the water. How else can you describe it? The ability to think, the ability to feel, the ability to plan ahead—all these things have been gone for a long time because we have turned our back on our principles *which* may have given us the means to achieve our ends. Nobody has ever had an actual plan! We have been asleep on the job, we have been on 'cruise control.' A death sleep has crept into the movement like a cancer and boiled away until nothing *has been* left but a husk. We have accepted an inversion of values to the point that we are now going down without a shot being fired.

* ***Note:*** *the term 'deracination' means the loss of racial, ethnic, cultural, or hegemonic identity—it is the effacement of genetic personality. HRM*

THE STRONG MAN IS MIGHTIEST ALONE

The nationalist trade is a racket that is ridden with the

most censorial, hypocritical, and gutless *jackasses*—who in point of fact should be the last people to be trusted with putting any solutions before the public. It is going to be the inevitable, objected to by some, that an 'all or nothing' outlook is divisive at a time of such acute weakness. What we must ask ourselves is, does it in the long run make for greater strength to carry the burden of weakness?

The erroneous belief that compromise and unity between different groups will result in an increase in strength has been disproved. For decades we have waited under the illusion that just *around* the corner all *of* the patriots are going to come together in a big group hug that will coddle us together into 'the next big thing.' The 'movement' is a dog's breakfast.

Only with a strong commitment to ideals that tells us where we want to go, can we hope *to* find the right strategy and overcome adversity. That doesn't mean we can't be constantly innovative and flexible in our tactics—but our ideals must be strong. In recent years especially we have seen the deterioration of a strong, single, nationalist ideal into more and more political subdivisions which are multiplying at ever increasing rates; it is of note that all of these groups ***insist*** on their own distinctiveness, yet they are full of compromise.

The stunning contradiction is that they always advocate banding these diverse elements together in a 'fourth way'. It is because they know deep down that their ideology is based in ego—everybody gets off where they are comfortable; personalized, individualized, base preference—the truth: all relations and political partnerships that come out of this are alliances of ego in the defense of nothing but individual ego as a defense mechanism against anything that argues for a single cause, that is the real fratricide, and it is to them that we can ascribe the term 'nationalist disunity'. The 'divide

and conquer' charge can be thrown out, because for all intents and purposes we are already divided.

We must begin to work for ourselves—attempts to jerry-*rig* Nationalism with other causes and ideas, do so in the knowledge will be adhered to by nationalists and nationalists alone. In the future there will be no more of these 'little parties' and 'subdivisions'—a legitimate movement must *make* a clean break with independent agency—the only division will be between those who are with us all the way—and *(cutting away)* the deadwood.

The modern political movement is about absolute loyalty to a single cause—it is rooted in this. The first step that we can take to ensure that members commit that loyalty is the existence of a cause that is worthy of this commitment. Our primary aim must be to nurture a powerful nationalism that is both strong in its principles and at the same time 'generic' for all practical purposes—for this we have to feel around for the existing elements that could make up such an identity, and when we do dust off the old flag we must ensure to give it a new meaning.

Our nationalism must be new, unlike any other, that cuts across divisions with its sheer visionary will. It must cut across ages, it must be a unified concept of the nation from its earliest past to a vision of future—for which will be needed an ideology strong enough to last a thousand years. In short, nationalism must be universally easy to understand, and understood as so great that it will be acted on—not another little ism, but pure infallibility, the one nationalism everyone will come to know, one to which the entire nation will bow.

Great principles are the foundational principle that make generic nationalism possible because they *have* hardcore commitment behind them which means power—to shape the world and have the people follow it. We can only give

expression to the people's inner desires, needs, fears, hatreds, passions, etc by transforming them into a splendid reality. I have always held that what produces results is best, because ideas do not exist in a vacuum but are in a dialectical relationship to people—the ability of an idea to instantly inspire action or creativity in an individual or the idea that has gained active adherents relative to its resources.

Isn't an idea that is out fighting and winning hearts and minds by its actions and examples, earning its daily bread? There may well be a major flaw, but if we are objective doesn't it indicate that in one aspect at least, it represents a great truth, because it has its finger on the pulse?

What is the justification for an idea if not its practical success? If practical success is how goals are met then *do* other criteria really matter? The meaning of this rhetoric is not grasped by those who reject everything they don't like on principle whether it is because they think it is simplistic, unpopular, unworkable, undignified, or simply does not accord with their own personal preferences or comforts—but what right in the world do any of them have to complain if they are no more successful than what is being rejected?

PLASTIC PATRIOTISM

All right wing amateurs assume they are experts in mass psychology and public relations which is why right wing propaganda today isn't striking a chord and appears *to be* so out of touch on what are key issues. Even if what the patriot says is true, it will fail because they base everything on the assumption that waving the flag is some kind of magic solution that will get exactly the same kind of response that it got in 1914 and 1939 when Europeans were willing to fight for their honor. Our continued use of this undermines it further, patriotism is hollow, people are embarrassed, and

the dead are insulted when their memory is evoked in this way.

They are appealing to a patriotic spirit that just doesn't exist anymore because for the most part they are appealing to a traditional belief in authority that has been all but destroyed. The authority of state tradition was rudely torn up when a gang of long haired gender benders, creeps, crooks, and thieves ransacked the country and dragged the colors *in* the mud—the nation tolerates treason and is run by traitors. They took over state instruments that were brought into creation for the protection of the people and used them for the exact opposite!

Today the Union Jack is flown as a proud trophy from the buildings of the enemy—the symbols of the old state really are beautiful, but they are everywhere—and what meaning do they have if it doesn't beat inside a nationalist heart? Like nationalism itself the value of symbols that used to be implicit to our people are being brought into question and our leaders have tried to give them a new meaning. This is very important.

A Nationalist world concept doctrine cannot fight and win if it allows for the unlimited freedom of anyone to interpret the meaning of the symbols it uses. It can only fight and win if it is consolidated under the banner of a great, and in this *case,* new idea with a single interpretation implemented by willing believers. People, if they are going to fight, want to know they are fighting for a vision and a future that is unshakable—that is uncompromising and won't be betrayed. Relying on old symbols and ideas alone cannot carry authority unless they are in support of an entirely New Order whose proponents are consistent, strong, brave, and trusted. The right, if it is to win, must become revolution—an open conspiracy to topple *the* system. We need something new, added to the mix that will

make us complete—that makes thought into action, that makes us fight.

What has brought success to the internationalists is they understood they could dominate the people and so could commit to a clear set of ideals that have been maintained and organized as an offensive attack against the old order. All they had to do was to apply already existing idealism and target it at the weak elements of an already decaying society. What we might call 'liberation theology' has been the basis of every method of social control and change from the Social revolution to the Arab spring—and that thesis has been implemented by every agent of the state with total confidence in its righteousness even when using brutal force and coercive power against world populations. These people are beyond criticism or reproach—and they cannot be rightly called hypocrites because they are consistent to their values.

For a nationalist movement people are the most important resource. We are nationalists fighting for the people—we call our movements 'people's movements' and it is for them and their posterity we struggle. We fight with blood of our people against all the gold of high finance—blood that is passive in this fight is blood that is lost to us and the future of our people—we need lots of blood, even if we are only asking for it in the form of support. People are absolutely central to us but it seems like no group understands the people less than nationalist right wingers.

It is *a* received political wisdom from all respectable nationalists that the modern nationalist party should be populist in a safe right wing patriotic way. The party must be built as a reflection of the people and tailored to their popular values, understanding, and attitudes. When you actually look at the facts this is absolutely ludicrous and backward reasoning; our people are leaderless, weak,

ashamed, and are being destroyed—and we are to assume that these same people are going to pull themselves up by their boot straps? That is what is implicitly implied when a typical nationalist politician says that 'we need the people on our side, so we must limit ourselves to what the ordinary people are comfortable with'—but that desire for comfort that underpins modern nationalism contains the same poisonous seed which is the very thing keeping the people weak. Soft pedaling the 'nasty stuff' on principle does not correspond to a greater standing and reception from the public. Comfort is more important to the people than their survival and so when nationalists re-enforce that, they should not be surprised to find that the people will opt for a more moderate option if it is available.

Parties today are set up on that premise, *they* believe that the path to victory is in the popular attitudes of the people. Those who believe in this kind of populism are proving themselves wrong every single time. That some residual patriotism exists in millions has not stopped one of the thousands of diseases now destroying them, and the victory of the elites that rule over them.

If nationalism existed in a clear way in their heart *as* something they really believed in that set a moral compass, the people would have already won a great victory and would not be facing annihilation—they never would have allowed any of it, they would have risen up in all their righteous indignation at the first insult to put an end to the pushiness of their arrogant leaders at the end of a rope—they would have already built the 'people's state' and none of this would be necessary.

The 'soft tactic' principle is based on a flawed assertion that we stand on the edge of this People's State, because as their slogan says "it is time to stand up and be counted" and that the people would be behind us if only we made

ourselves respectable and acceptable to the people. This is not true because people deny any nationalist principles in their daily lives; when they carry on doing nothing they are electing the same corrupt leaders, and not only that, they are justifying it to themselves without a bad conscience.

Many times in the last century, in every western country there have been men of great principle who saw what was happening and stood up for the people and asked them if this is really what they wanted and tried to lead them only to be ignored and cast aside. Every time, *when* one of these brave men stood up for the little man, how did the little man repay him? With apathy—the people agreed, but they stayed quiet and allowed things to happen all the same, allowing for the system to adjust and react. The crucifixion of all those leaders and the principles for which they stood serves as a reminder to all those today of the real metal of our people who even today scorn the memory of those who accurately painted the future in *which* they find themselves. The men of the past were ignored by most of the population because people are fundamentally passive and it would have meant acknowledging there was a problem—Just as is easy to believe the population was cruelly and cunningly subverted; forced to accept the system *as though* they never even had any real choice in the matter. We live in a democracy—the people have had their go at self government and blown it.

Are the people to blame? No, although for nationalists, that is the only conclusion, when the people fail meet their expectations—so they are always making excuses, and they lie about the people to justify their existence. Nationalist optimism is really a movement of despair—and *this* might explain why they can't make an impression on the people—deep down they don't believe there is hope and the people

sense it. Condemn the people all you want, blame democracy, but what sort of example have they ever *had* to follow? The leadership must take its share of the blame. If you really love your people and you genuinely care then you must have the courage to accept them for what they are and recognize what is wrong with them so you can help them. We all need a bit of cold hard reality and we owe it to the people to stop being so pathetic and *to* treat them realistically for the first time. The right wing view it reflects the reality with most people; judging by the people's attitude to their own self preservation today the people cannot be leaned on, they have to be pushed. Where other leaders failed in the past is *that* they believed they could reform the system—they were men on the inside. Our freedom can only be won by a revolution, and for that we must take radical methods.

A CASE FOR FASCISM

Nobody has ever gotten anywhere by being 'moderate'.
Nobody has ever gotten anywhere by being 'nice'.
Nobody has ever gotten anywhere by being 'intellectual'.
Nobody has ever gotten anywhere by being 'respectable'.

MEN AND MOVEMENTS got to where they *have* by one way and one way only. It is what the enemy calls Fascism, and so far as I have ever found it is the only thing that has ever worked.

Just looking at it objectively the patriots in these two countries, Germany and Italy, used this method, this thing, and with it they kicked communism and took power all by themselves.

'*Done*', isn't that what we want? Only *done_right* this time.

Other right wingers call fascism irrelevant, but *the* very premise of the entire modern movement lives under the towering 'fascist ghost'. Even if they were completely successful in convincing people of their position—it must be in relation to fascism; the best response they can hope for is "I have understood what you are, I agree with you, but most of all—at least you are not a fascist, that would be terrible". The result of such cowardly tactics is that no perception has fundamentally changed, which is the requirement of a confident and coherent movement that has the people behind it. Entire belief systems have been set up as alternatives to fascism,—really; as long as the name doesn't include 'Fascist' or 'Nazi' it has been used with world changing ambitions, so that it might be accepted as a cunning replacement to fascism—which would somehow be forgotten. I often wonder why such people could not undertake an easier task like taking all water to the sea.

They think they can win the rigged game if they don't put their chips on the table—the effect this kind of behavior has on the public is appalling. Their strategy is the rejection of the very thing on which the idea of victory depends—so from the outset it reinforces denial of the people ever having strength, with this example is a meek and cowardly response not expected? For what is this gamble worth? It is so they can plead to their opponents that they will be so kind as to not harass them with the fascist thing, and for both sides to give respective viewpoints and for the best idea to win—the respectable approach, because you can't win people without respectability. It is like they don't seem to comprehend *that* the enemy doesn't want that—they only want to win and to see us crushed.

You don't play a rigged game and complain when you lose—you have to call out the cheaters at the very start. Taking what the enemy throws at you is a game changer because it gives you the freedom to change the whole dynamics and begin a new type of game. Instead of our lies backfiring on us, I want their lies to backfire on them.

They *(Fascists)* did not fold, they made friends only on their own terms and never bargained with the nation's enemies. That in itself is admirable. The fascists demanded and got full state power, took power and saved their people—and the people loved them for it.

FASCISM™ "KILLS COMMUNISM DEAD!"

Is the world's most internationally recognized brand for cleansing of the nation of all enemies—Fascists were the greatest professionals who ever lived, and they alone would be up to the immense challenge we face today, but most movement people seem to make a point of criticizing or ignoring fascism, when, for almost anything in life these

same people use a qualified professional. When they are in court they use an experienced lawyer. When they are hurt they see an experienced doctor. When they want something built they get a experienced architect. But when it comes to politics they automatically assume they are experts—they build their own, entirely new, amateur platform constructed from their own personal preferences. Nobody can just accept better they have to do it their own way. This is what everybody is doing, and if you doubt that *this* is wrong, *then* look at the present situation today.

The charge that fascism is a failure is found in the lamentation that it is 'misunderstood' when it is understood perfectly by the system. That it continues to be so hated, more than anything else, by this sick and diseased world is all the evidence we need to prove that it was right. Fascism was defeated once and the whole world was covered in filth —everything we warned about, the collapse of the bourgeois white world, happened just as Hitler and Mosley had predicted decades before. Say whatever you want about fascism—now that the old system is dead, fascism represents the logical outcome of the torment that has been placed on our civilization and the manifestation of rage building up in the people who are struggling to exist.

Every minority group in the land had squashed discussion on equality—the majority living beneath the yoke of the minority. Only the bastard sons of truth walk and rule this land now.

In the end either us or the system will take it all away from you and then you will cease to be a political force, you will be crushed between the millstones of history. You will drop to our level you will become fascists. And the beauty of it is that you will then add to our strength. We will hail you *as* brothers, and we will fight shoulder to shoulder—you will

forget yourself and everything under the weight of historical events. You talk now about how tolerant you are, but the enemy will stretch your tolerance until it breaks—you make promises now how, 'if the system made a deal with you, you would be liberal and humane'—but in the future you will *be* participating in the burning of ghettos, the execution of traitors, and the rounding up of social undesirables. You will do these things because history has decided and everyone knows it.

There is a big fight coming—and saying that is as much a prediction as saying that the Titanic is going to sink after it hit the iceberg—the question here is not even exactly what will happen and how many will be lost, but whether we can instil in our people the sense of meaning that will make them stand and fight. When we look at fascism we must look behind the uniform, because it is not just about style—we must bring back the type of men who wore those uniforms.

Fascism produced people who were willing to fight;—but, who is really willing to fight for anything today? I mean really believe in anything enough to face hardship for it? Muslims are an example, they strap bombs to themselves. In our case though most of our people are, for whatever reason, unable commit perfectly legal acts like voting for nationalist parties—and nationalist activists are unable to hold open meetings and speak the truth. If the health of a people is judged by how vigorously they defend their right to existence then we need to find things that make them do that. Our problem is not a lack of self restraint!

Our political faith must be a force to move the people and we must be thankful that the enemy have taken this stance by accepting nothing less than all out war. With the rising intolerance of the system as it pushes for total domination, the future will give rise to radicalization because to be in the

fight at all requires an all or nothing attitude—therefore this will be a fight between two diametrically opposed world concepts which are destined to crush everything else in between them as they grind.

Because this strategy is based on playing the system's politics the solution of the modern right winger is to fight with his wealth and throw money at the problem—he sets up political parties, societies, publishing houses. He brings a mercantile attitude and will try and make a living off it—he sees only money because whatever he says it becomes the only means, end, and goal. There has never been a case in such instances where a business did not ultimately come before the cause, because in the end the static venture corrupts personal ethics away from the diametrically opposite fluid risk-taking and adaptive spirit needed to chase a long term goal. No more mucking around.

The strength, I believe, *that* needs to be cultivated is a more primitive strength, but it is the strength that is to life germane, it is the strength that is stronger than wealth, and, that wealth cannot take away. Our strength is in our muscles, in our hands to cast ballots, in our fingers to pull triggers. This strength we cannot be stripped of. Wealth is detachable, it can be taken away and is being taken away—any time we get an organization together the system changes the law and tries to bankrupt it. Party after party dragged through the courtroom, party headquarters collected like trophies by 'human rights' lawyers.

The respectable attitude believes in playing the system by its own values—but gets played instead; even now political class is taking away what little rights we have—and they have, even moderate opposition to Islam is criminalized and the race relations act finished free speech in this country years ago.

When people come expecting the worst of us, and we live

up to those expectations, yet, at the same time they find us reasonable then that is how you shift attitudes. I believe that the magnetic courage of a masculine, straight-forward style of presentation and leadership will attract thousands, and finally millions to the great idea that made it possible—because that idea had a power that stood and fought. This does not in itself necessitate the specific use of *the* Fascist and Nazi, although there are instances where even this may be advantageous. If we go by other names than we must always remember that they will not serve as any kind of deception. We cannot actively fight for our people in any way without proudly accepting what Fascism and National Socialism stood for and to understand that they too fought for our values.

MOVING THE MASSES

Fascism is based on the understanding that ultimate power does not rest in politics, it lies in the great unthinking masses of ordinary people. These ordinary people don't care about the facts or presentation, they are not won by argument—they are won by the power and dynamics of force, not reason. The people hate weakness, especially in their leaders, but they love strength, even when it oppresses them. Strength carries the people and the outrage that comes with it is felt only by the sobbing and crushed enemy who deserves to be crushed. Our enemy understands this, not once have they gotten down to the level of our people, but ruled over them with hateful arrogance. They do what they want and they do not care what outrage they cause, for if they did it would expose their own weakness and self doubt. We know that our enemy understands the source of all his power because he defends it with its life and will carry on believing until the end, no matter what—That is true faith, that is a unified world concept, that is the true

only meaning of leadership, It is that belief in a cause that is the essence of political leadership and it bears reminding that we too are defeated only at the moment of doubt.

CRUEL WORLD

For every individual Briton as well as for our national existence, the solemn hour is now striking; and one side armed with a developed systematic ideal is driving its people to a relentless assault on a passive and already decaying people. On the side that opposes this and wants to defend society there is nothing, for we have no weapons to fight with. If the right were forced on the field tomorrow then such a fight would be absolutely ridiculous.

Question the motives of those who only want things to be 'nice', and refuse to stand up for themselves. Why is it, exactly, that respectable right wingers refuse to fight? Why do they sit and take the beating? Why is the only thing they care about acceptance, even when it is plain lunacy? I'll tell you why—it is because it is only in a fight that you are tested, when they are forced to stand up for themselves it is easily *seen* if they are good at it or not. Fighting and failing reminds people that they have flaws, and that doesn't compute with them, because in their own minds they are saviors of the white race. These people can never bear the banners of the people's movement because they do not hate their enemies enough to justify fighting for their nation, so they do not truly love their people. Whatever the justification—always question the motivations of the man who will not fight.

This is a society marked for extinction—even the right can no longer deny that we are surrounded by corruption and evil—and it is their fault. Yet even now, they still don't want to fight against it and tell the truth to the people—to be a real example to them. I would give my life for a leader if he

came tomorrow—a fated man within the power structure itself; for example an Officer or Royal who might have genuinely cared for the people, and because he pitied them became disgusted with the parasitic usurers draining the life of the nation—and intervened by force to save that nation and take it into his hands.

Before, the answer to life came from instinct—but really, in order to answer why good is better than evil, you need to have a moral or religious conviction in order to give that kind of answer. Good must take on a sacred meaning, Evil must be utterly profane.

Make no mistake, the enemy is evil—they are waging an open war against the people and it is being waged with what can only be an absolute prejudice. Mass Immigration, multiculturalism, political correctness, usury—all the destructive things that are ruining lives of ordinary people, serve no purpose to them in that our elites get nothing from it personally, and in the long run they risk the consequences of the society they created. Only when you begin to understand this hatred can you really conceive what we are up against—and that needs to change. The enemy takes the risk and are destroying the world not for material benefit but because they believe it is right and need to fill their moral needs; our enemy believes that healthy and normal European society is 'evil', and because it is consistent, it believes this 'evil' must be wiped off the face of the earth. Therefore, we can say the same for us, that if you believe the destruction of our people is evil, then it is your moral obligation to fight that evil with whatever is necessary until it has been destroyed.

This flies in the face of everything we are told about being part of the political system, the assumption that the 'middle road' is always best. On the face of it this common assertion

is not only fundamentally unscientific, it is baseless because political fact may call for any position. The fact right now is that we are in a massive fight where two colliding ideas are smashing into each other—completely the opposite. Instead the right and our people hold tolerance as a higher virtue—and what they get is predictable and deserved.

Self restraint is what underpins the modern nationalist movement; dignity, respectability, appeasement. It is prejudice against fascism and this prejudice is underpinned by cowardice—there are no reasonable explanations for its scathing opposition other than *that* fascism remains an obstacle to their tomfoolery. That fascism is illegitimate because it is not the happy centre, is as flawed as *(and similar to)* the assertion that it is a bad thing to be an 'extremist'. This is really strange when you think about it—what objectively is so wrong with being 'extreme'? What if I am extremely smart or good looking or extreme in my charity and enthusiasm? If current practice of failure is anything to go by, extreme just seems to be reasonable.

Why are we so busy trying to stop our people from carrying out the defense of their nation to the fullest extent? They *certainly* don't mind when the enemy is extreme, or they might as well, for the good that is done when they object to anything and it falls on deaf ears. Right wing whining falls on deaf ears because they surrender their only weapons, and with it, the moral right to complain. This truth is evidenced by the fact *that* right wing whining never achieved anything in history—they complain, they get angry and indignant at the daily insult, but *it* never reaches above a whisper. Our opponents, even though they are the portion of the population that should be considered deliberately evil, are armed with a sort of confidence which our nationalists do not seem to be able to comprehend; it is a confidence that stems from a deeply held conviction.

THERE IS NO ROOM FOR MORAL RELATIVISM

It is such a basic issue when you think about it. Our central issue is the survival of our people, and the great debate of our age that is being fought *out* everywhere is 'why should Europeans survive?'. It is like being asked why good is better than evil—in the past we took it for granted until evil men started asking the question, and when we couldn't reply, they answered for us—and their answer is the only one the people ever hear; every day in the newspapers, the classroom, on TV, etc.

Our enemy very cleverly and cynically goes on an all out offensive to challenge the most basic of concepts—as far away from anything that might question the legitimacy of liberalism as possible. If a right winger makes a point, then it has been forgotten by the time he has fought off all the attacks on his precious credibility.

This is only made possible by his own sickness that makes him surrender what might have been his only defense. This way our enemy can lose every debate if they need to, it doesn't matter because none of these battles ever seriously threatens their interests, on the other side all the strength of opposition have been sapped in the pointless fight. The Enemy picks their battles by picking their opponents; if they can use a respectable conservative, they will, over some other right winger. The 'no platform' policy even today stipulates specifically that Fascists are not to be given any speech—because it is the only thing they fear. It is very clear that there is an ideological hierarchy in the movement where the most opposed to fascist methods are the least consistent and perform the worst. The more consistent and successful you get, the closer you come to fascism.

Our leaders are incapable of publically addressing

unpleasant facts. How does the whole movement from top to bottom treat the outrage of everyday stories that are *gloating about* how the end of our people is near? With action? When terrible things happen it troubles them—but only troubles them, like the tut-tutting over a Daily Mail article. Just as the desire for something is not itself enough to make it into a reality, they know in their hearts it is wrong but lack the firm moral basis on which to justify taking short term troubles for a future because without our sights fixed on the eternity of a world view we will give in to the moment. By definition those who demand certainty of success will not fight for fear for defeat. No political program can succeed unless it is tied to our inner nature, one based on the firm conviction that our people must survive.

If this happened tomorrow, not just myself and those like me, but millions of people would join together with him. It would be euphoric. Fifty years of liberalism would melt away and all the frustrations of the people would wash through the cities and flush the yesterday men into the gutter.

That is a nice idea, but this won't happen, and there is a reason. A nice idea is always self-deceit because it is nothing more than a magic solution that takes all our responsibilities away, it is cowardice when you think about it; whether it is delusional optimism for a political party's 'guaranteed success', a moment when the people suddenly have enough and "demand a nice idea happen!". To a lesser extent this is the same thinking which is responsible for all the delusions and contradictions I have discussed, the whole movement is based on pure fantasy which is why it has never come close to working. Instead the movement has been engaging in a lot of wishful thinking—thinking with the dumb warm fuzzy lobe in its lizard brain. It is possible for people to reach

eccentric positions through reason, but more often than not simple human cowardice is a better explanation than convenient high minded realization.

WHAT IS RESPECT?

WE MUST NOT fool ourselves—our leaders are worthless when it comes to any dignified task simply because *they* maintain no values. Appealing to popular attitudes *is,* on principle, acting outside of conviction, *it* is based on the erroneous idea that the more concerns that can be stapled on to the 'program' of a political party, the stronger the platform will be—when really the more that is piled on, the more bogged down *it becomes*—because the core emphasis is lost. For nationalists craving public acceptance the temptation has always been to adopt the 'values' of modern political life—the enemy, especially if those slogans can be reinterpreted to carry a new meaning in a way that seems consistent with us.

Every day it is human cowardice that accepts this reasoning easily if it gives justification for their position, even though they are following in the footsteps of a criminal enemy who have already taken these ideals to their logical conclusions, and so 'own it'. They can only see the 'because' rather than 'in spite of'' the fact that these public images have already been established as 'accepted'. Words like 'Freedom', for example, sound nice, and by appropriating accepted terminology it is believed that a smart move has been made, indeed the originators of this policy take a great snobbish pride in this as 'very dignified'. This is psychologically retarded. They believe that 'moderation' is the most important thing, and any skeptic is an 'extremist' making a point of denouncing 'both sides'. Being 'reasonable' in their opinion is the key to success and so those who oppose the system must be sacrificed. This is 'moderation' in, and, reflected by their adoption of the very thing that is killing the people. They are system tools hook

line and sinker; their reward? To have their weak positions (that they sold us out for) humiliated and destroyed in front of the public, but enough to have them left artificially afloat to stop others *from* rocking the boat. This is the source of the rush for moderation—it is to get on the gravy train, and they admit it themselves through their treachery.

Not only are they lacking in public relations—they don't have a clue about what they are up against, don't realize they are fighting what is essentially a faith, which like all religions demands total and cannot be bargained with. The conduct of the right wing, its respectfulness, only serves to legitimize our enemy in the eyes of the people. The respectable controlled opposition gets in the way of the cure and without knowing who they were really working for. Many join out of weakness, bending to the will of artificially created currents created by our enemy, and if they are adept at anything it is picking their fights by controlling these currents.

Our ancestors succeeded because something was there that made them willing to work and sacrifice their lives away—work in this life to enter heaven in the next is the principle that underlies any 'work ethic'. We must give a vision of heaven to our people, and only when we succeed in this can we have a movement that is future oriented—a solid vision of the future from a solid ideology for which we are willing to stand up and take risks.

Those who demand a pre-packaged revolution waiting for them with a certainty of success surrender the right to any victory for their ideas and movement leadership. To survive in this world you have to fight which means sometimes you have to take risks and hard choices, this will almost certainly be the case with us—but we must do it because it will be worth it in the end and any alternative is

unthinkable. We must not do nothing, simply because no plan seems certain of success. No loss as a consequence of acting can be greater than the loss from failing to act. If we are responsible adults, if we are honorable adults, then we must act. There is no acceptable excuse for not acting. Nothing ventured nothing gained. If we do not act, then everything will be lost, every reason for living, every reason for which our ancestors lived and worked and sacrificed and suffered and died. A patient faced with death does not need more than a one percent chance of success to undergo a lifesaving operation—and we should not pity those who chose to accept their fate without fighting. The tragedy of our people is rooted in this one percent chance.

The history of human progress teaches us one thing; it is that it has always an uphill struggle—whether it was for rights or scientific progress it had to be fought for against a system that was actively preventing it. All great progress in the history would have been impossible if there were not men who held the truth higher than the authority of the time even if it meant putting their lives at risk. We would these men fanatics and many of them burned at the stake in front of jeering mobs, but for that sacrifice future generations have got on their knees and thanked them.

This is an analogy, but we are talking about principles here. Modern nationalism is the quack medicine, it is comforting, farcical—and therefore it is getting in the way of the cure. Like the surgeon a soldier does what needs to be done. A soldier doesn't have to think twice shooting down his fellow man or anything that stands in his path—he just does it. Technically it is the same as murder but you don't think of it that way because you understand what a war is and it comes as natural to you as anything else—we must see politics same way. We shoot them down and a million like them on the road to that capital where the fires burn

brightest.

The Political Soldier idea is the traditional approach to politics. He differs from an ordinary soldier in that he fights, and is willing to die for politics and in his fight he is rewarded only by the spiritual elevation he gains from this—struggling for a cause is his existence. The political soldier is different from an ordinary politician by the very fact that when faced with violence the politician says 'I must rethink my convictions'. But today we live in a violent world that is spilling over into society, into everything—so to be deterred by even the prospect of violence is to effectively abandon any principles. Like a vegetarian that eats meat, a 'conditional nationalist' is no nationalist at all because Nationalism isn't something that is 'decided on' it is something bigger than you are, a force of nature; you just promote it as strong as you can and you are washed along by the current—a Nationalist is only strong if he is willing to swim the strong currents he unleashes. The foundation of our new example will be to take moral responsibility for our thoughts and actions and to say we have done it—to make public this conscious understanding.

Liberal politicians are not deterred by violence; they practice it daily when they carry out humanitarian airstrikes or condone the next wave of violent immigrants into Europe. Even those in society who are in the privileged position to call themselves pacifists because they don't have power or responsibility still wish their enemies dead in their hearts.

Real progress has nothing to do with accumulated knowledge but a commitment to the principles that underlie progress; the desire for genuine justice, genuine truth; for the lives of the people—against ignorance, corruption, and tyranny. Without opposing these things we become part of the problem of what is holding us back. Real genuine

struggle for progress can only begin when we make the decision to start saving lives rather than caring about the obstacles, even if it is the people themselves. We must not be a servant to the people, we must become their master.

"The aim now must be to take the noble inspirations which have been used on all sides for dark purposes of destruction and to unite them in the great synthesis which will make possible the creative future. the sublime spirit of duty, sacrifice and high endeavor then imprisoned within them and distorted to the service of war will be released in a union of all high things to make Europe and save mankind. The noble though inarticulate instincts of youth were of this nature, and all the squalor of a life in politics has not yet extinguished the spark which flew from the anvil of 1914."

Oswald Mosley 'My Life' (1968), 'Reflecting on the Great War 1914-18'

In political struggle the most sacred and important task is to find the Holy Grail of Action; what it is that moves a person and makes them do things, makes them stand up and fight. So far the 'boots on the ground' have only come in the form of compromised and cowardly conservative masks that appeal to the people's sense of security—not revolutionaries who openly advocate replacing the current system with a new community. I am not just talking about right wingers but the majority of the 'Far Right' or as they prefer to be called the New Right.

A lot of bunk has been said over the past thirty years, especially the last ten of 'elites' or more accurately 'intellectual elites'. With this emphasis in our current culture on 'intellectuals', little wonder then that is has led many in the movement to greatly over-estimate their intellect. I place quotation marks around 'Intellectuals' because though self proclaimed, the sad truth is that most

are second rate at best, as any cursory analysis of their work shows most of them are not able to construct an argument or stay consistent to the scientific method of analysis—most wouldn't even hack it as low grade academics if they were ever actually given the chance.

YOU ARE NOT JULIUS EVOLA

Bloviation is a style of empty, pompous, political speech which originated in Ohio and was used by United States President, Warren G. Harding who described it as "the art of speaking for as long as the occasion warrants, and saying nothing". Dressing up statements with mystical hubris doesn't make you any more clever or able to explain a complex matter.

They produce only what they like, not what people might want—the people are not made up of and saints. The people understand bold, simple, and emotive statements which these 'intellectuals' curl their lip at, because the people would be better convinced by reading political tomes on existential traditionalism.

The whole thing is a real diversion—aping the cultural Marxists with their own academia deconstructing radical elitist themes in 'pop culture' for signs of implicit whiteness —with this wet minded attitude to everything and not producing solid leads we are never going to get anywhere. Back on earth we have some serious problems and people are dying because those problems are ignored. Let's draw the line there.

I am not saying qualifications are bad—you have an A level in Media Studies or a Philosophy Degree? Well congratulations!—I think it is great we have qualifications and intelligent young men and women (well some) but all the qualifications in the world don't help unless you know how to use them. Even a qualified professional like a doctor

isn't any help if he isn't interested in actively curing me but instead uses medicine to enlighten me on Galen's theory of Humourism.

‘INTELLECTUALS’ WITHOUT INTELLECT

THAT ISN’T AS strange as it sounds. For it to be of any use to our people an innate thing like ‘intellect” is something that has to be actually used—just demonstrating you can think doesn’t mean what you have is a good thing. More often than not in modern society intellect is used for evil—not just consciously by the slimy bastard politicians but at the everyday level by teachers, lawyers, writers, bureaucrats, businessmen, etc to carry out their trade and justify it to themselves afterward. blessing or curse—what this shows is that the intellect is nothing more than a tool to be used, not only must it be used for good but it must be used constructively; subservient to higher considerations.

The past half century of death sleep prove that ‘intellectual weapons’ don’t move people, quite the opposite; today thousands of fine young men who under the example of good leaders might have used their skills for right, are given comfort in their empty cultural musings with the mistaken belief that this investment somehow contributes to progress of some kind and it was done by offering individuals something to fight for that they saw as more valuable than their own single human life.

It is not an unrelated fact that any coward can use his intellect to conjure a hundred excuses to justify his inertia —“Inactivity is death” said Benito Mussolini. Right now the entire white race has been condemned to death by self imposed Aspergers. The Movement only appeals to people who are mentally ill. The entire political system is geared against the man of action—there are few ways for him to tap into his support and so to achieve anything must shoulder his entire burden—for if he joined one of the charades in

Nationalist politics he would not be adding his strength to the movement, instead all the instinct of the few strong fighters is gradually worn down under the weight of the others, It is like a disease.

WHEN IN A BIG FIGHT INSTINCT IS MORE IMPORTANT

When a man or animal is in combat for dear life its body changes, the brain not needed and so it shuts down so as not to impede the organism in its death struggle. Right now the west is locked in such a death struggle and our response has been to contemplate it—now as we go down, seconds count until we let kick in and take over. This polarity of states is why we must expect and prepare for the most radical things in the future—Right now the European will sit and take absolutely anything, but when a line is crossed and the last link in the chains that bind him snap, European man will belt for his enemies like a thunderbolt and tear them to pieces.

Therefore I believe it goes without saying that the best among us are not the intelligent, but those with good instincts; The truly committed are those who fight from the heart—Soldiers, do not need to 'convinced' by intellectual debate just to continue holding their position, while those who are the most opinionated can't make a firm commitment to anything and are constantly fiddling with their position on things.

It is true also that those who are currently on the top of the heap are the ones who simply take the most initiative and they end up running the show based on how their unique incentive waxes and wanes.

For fighters loyalty to the cause is not just an ideal they know to be right, but constant pursuit after life defining

emotive experience which their instinct revealed as a glimmer of something they wanted. Real leaders are those with their own guiding light that motivates them to a cause; Loyalty, perseverance, inspiration, et cetera, all solid fighting principles derive directly from this sixth sense of instinct.

An individual who is purely intellectual cannot be a true member of what must be a fighting movement—in turn movements led by intellectuals only ever attract crowds of distant followers, but no members. In this sense the aphorism 'there are no atheists in the trenches' has an essential truth to it.

This leads us to the following conclusion; when we Integralists put forward our plan 'action, strength, and militarism' that is needed for a victorious national movement (tendencies labeled 'stupid' and which are condemned), we are talking about what makes it possible; fanaticism! Call it a religious belief of a sort—The Fascist experiment has proven that the vital Instinct of a people can be cultivated to the creation of idealistic fanatics,

Race and destiny, blood and honor, blood and soil—these are the Fascist stones, to a soldier; nothing else matters. Step hard on enemies and traitors.

This is not an 'adventure in counter-culture' or some small man's pious call to arms—it is a call for a generation to lay down their lives, and in the coming struggle for the survival of our nation it better ring true. To surmount destiny, just snatching victory from the jaws of defeat—that is the challenge fate has given European man. We can succeed only when we learn to start facing facts, when we take a scientific method and apply it in our daily lives—only then with confidence through faith will we have a the genuine organization of the kind that will go down in

history for saving the white race.

'Movement' is achieved only by those who have the instinct for nationalist feeling and can instil those same feelings in others. It is from a people who as individuals possess an innate sense truths and the call of nation, and maybe understand what that means, that you will make an army when it is commanded by those who are able to see rock solid principles. Out of the crashing waves of mass of uncertain and confused ideas must arise a solid cliff of faith and will that unifies our people. This faith will not take the form of any abstract metaphysical concept, it is in ***ACTION***, pure action fired by our own physical bodies—our god is instinct as it exists in the blood.

Time was too short for fascism to burgeon into a new culture which would later come to flower in a new civilization. I had already done the thinking which had produced a series of practical proposals to meet the immediate danger and long-term needs of my country; the urgency was then to implement them in practical action. It was not therefore just barbarism when at this stage I said that the men who can think are not enough, and I must go out to find the men who can feel, and do.

It was recognition of a truth beyond the intellectuals with whom I was associated, and it deeply offended them precisely because it was beyond them. It is essential to surpass this antithesis of intellect and feeling in a synthesis which embraces both at a new level of thought and action. When my original intellectual associates fell away in the shock of action which resisted organized violence, it was suggested that thereafter I was surrounded by stupid brutes who were conveniently classified as thugs. In fact, new intellectuals emerged from the study under the impact of those events, who at least equaled in mind and certainly

surpassed in character those who had departed.

The solution to all our problems is a moral, it is a matter of finding courage, and that is it. If everybody took complete responsibility and practiced self criticism—if we strove for consistency—then our problems would be over very quickly, and the real work could begin. To bring this about requires an enabling factor, something worthy of bringing out that courage.

First, our goal must be to set up an organization like no other—This organization will be one based solely on the maintenance of an idea—this as opposed to other political parties that have viewed themselves as organizations seeking their own ends, we will be working towards what will one day be a cause that will be universally understood. For those who demand the ruthless application of truth there can be no substitute to this sincere method of advancement which will bring a purity to our work that will allow us to rise above the other parties. We understand that there is a bigger game played across a much larger field, our ultimate aim is still to attain power—but we will not do this by going against our principles—without our principles, what are we? The development of concrete principles whose greatness is recognized as being of the highest value will serve as the foundation of all future development.

Secondly, in the application of these ideals—our strategy must be complete; we must have aims that are clear and understood in such a way as to grant a full perspective on the game. What we need is a 'general plan' whose flexibility provides means of obtaining power outside conventional institutions—working outside the gauntlet. This must be a living idea which though set in its goals, can actively perceive and work with new elements, and inspire previously unimagined means to achieving its end. It must

achieve the feat of completely revolutionizing the way politics is done.

THE CHALLENGE

The first concern of a political organization is how it can defend these principles and prevent itself from degenerating into a mindless slop. Our aim must be to maintain the independence and agency of our idea—so it does not become another tool for the interests of others. It must be an infallible idea that moves not be moved. The society that we live in is more than just hypocritical—it is completely subverted by our enemy. There is nothing that has not been touched by its sinews, and we can rely on none except ourselves—there can be no binding alliance except on our own terms, which must entail complete submission to our principles.

The goal will ultimately be power, but that is not to be directly confused with a means—getting into parliament for example. The house of commons is a mongrel parliament, it is not a people's parliament, it is a parliament where all the enemies of the people sit, and the only reason to go into that body is with the aim of gutting it—because that is what we are fighting against. Anyone who actually wants to be a politician is a traitor to his race and generation emulating political style will not improve politics, it will corrupt us instead. Political culture has infected our national life—it must be discredited and quarantined to the corner of the enemy, as separate from the people. As a revolutionary movement by compulsion we must forever silence the urge to be involved in the political system with the aim of improving it because that a perfidious lie—we are here to replace is. We will declare the system dead, that is how we will name it and own it.

If we allow ourselves to be distracted by one issue then

the enemy will always win, always escape us, always have a way out. The enemy can jump from sinking ship to sinking ship, and from one ethnicity to another.

For this reason we euphemistically refer to it as the 'system' as this acknowledges the realm of the enemy and the extent of his territory.

Purist and simplistic views makes for the best game plan —purely on the basis of perspective it does not make the mistake of reducing the enemy to a limited scope, but understands how flexible their capabilities are.

In the battle for hearts and minds we are against a subversive and conspiratorial minority which is practicing what is called 'concealment warfare'—they hide among and cuckold where they blend in—like dealing with an insurgency our aim must be to separate them from the civilian population through some means of coercion. They need to be deprived of their support and lose power over the institutions.

THE GAME

However the most important factor is that there is no 'unified theory of subversion'—just because something is a proxy, does not mean it is advancing the enemy's aims. How can it? If everything in society is subverted, and those things subverted differ so greatly how can they all be in play if they are pulling in different directions? They have a very strong current with lots of freedom and strength, but ultimately it has to pick and choose a few select horses that will take them where they need to go, and to cut the others loose.

The truth is that the enemy is never one thing. This system is made up of proxies each representing ideological self interest—and they are all fighting for a tiny percentage of the pork barrel that we have laid out for them. Fighting

against any one of the thousands of misfortunes against us does not address the true problem—they are only a symptom.

This is also why the fascist method is not widely in practice, because it is a doctrine of all or nothing goes against the instincts of most people who are easily daunted by ambitious aims, and desire social acceptability—usually they give in on one or the other. Compromise and measured sober analysis would make sense if we didn't live in an all or nothing world—but now we do. People do not need headaches, they need good leaders who can be seen walking on truth, and act like it—they need their leaders to be courageous and confident in their articulation without expressing doubt. If this is so wrong, find a better truth—or we must face death together.

If we are right, then we can fight in no other way but against the whole world.

To understand the game that is being played, you have to understand the 'enemy' as he has been referred to up to this point. An answer to 'who is the enemy?' alone can tell you everything you need to know in deciding whether a particular position is phony or not, its comprehension, integrity, understanding, flaws, etc. This is because in the game the opponent sets the basis of the dynamic, saying what you are against provides context to the struggle *(Note: this is an innate characteristic that is found in all Fascisms where ever they emerge in the world—HRM)*—without an enemy you can't have a game plan, you don't even have a fight. It is a basic issue of communication; unwillingness to fight on the part of ourselves and the population has been in no small part because there is no agreement on the enemy—so even when feelings are inflamed outrage is often vented and directionless.

This is where we have a major problem because no one word ever seems to give it justice.

'Liberalism' for instance is probably the most popular, but it does not accurately reflect the full scope of *the* enemy, many of whom are not liberals, but are communists, and theocrats—It also implies that the enemy is only ideological —rather than biological for instance. This failure forms the basis of a major communication issue because it cannot be easily explained, and reduced to a core factor like race—which is needed to advance that agenda. It is the aim of enemies to limit us in our speech—so they can get around *as* being truly identified. Naming the enemy far from simplifying things, presents inherent contradictions—on the mass immigration issue you have the 'immigrants' and the 'elites' that let them in—two separate socio-economic groups —and in the end you have to pick one at the total expense of the other—it isn't possible. Cultural Marxism isn't Capitalism, immigrant masses are not the same as the establishment. Muslims are not Blacks, aren't Chinese, aren't faggots *(Note: slang term for 'homosexuals' and sexual deviants—HRM)*, aren't bankers, aren't leftists, et cetera, but they are working towards the same end, guided by the same powerful force.

While the principle holds true that a subverted organization is less likely to achieve success *(e. g. American Senator Joseph McCarthy—HRM)*—and that even if it were to prove triumphant, it would still contain the seeds of its own destruction—in the long term one victory of this kind could set the whole program back by decades. There are any number of scenarios where a proxy turns on its master, and here are a few to consider so as to illustrate the point; Islam in the west like any other parasitic globalist proxy is a rabid dog installed to create and foster problems—to cause

destruction to us and to appease. Islam is regarded as the safest and most controllable animal—cattle, which is why they have been chosen to replace Europeans. The gradual growth and replacement of the indigenous population by Muslims is dependent on the ability of the state to protect and preserve them over the period of a hundred years, and for the leaders to restrain their own from carrying out excessive violence. A delicate balance must be struck between having a people who are assertive enough to be used for ambitious global aims and act as willing and effective agents of world governance—at the same time, they must maintain full control and prevent them causing too much negativity where this process is in its embryonic stage.

This enemy we are dealing with, this abstractive destructive humanitarian liberation theology is practical, it moves from host to host feeding off the herd of cattle—it is classless, raceless, outside any one group—they will throw all but one under the bus if they have to, *to* keep it going. We are different, as long as the white man is around we will be there, no matter how much they stamp—they will have to kill us all, which is what they are trying to do—but not done yet. In this game the enemy may keep us at bay a thousand times and providing there is no time constraint we will still be there, a threat. We only need to win once, and it is game over for them, forever, and all it will take is for one domino to send the others crashing down.

The plans of the enemy might also depend on a specific opposition as well. The enemy game plan, actually looks something like this; there is the political class and their allies at the top of some groups; 'community leaders' etc, and together they form a tight conspiracy to manage the world according to an idea and how that meme can be best

continued. These players are in it for the long term, so long in fact, that before the game is over, the group or class they represent may have been replaced many times while keeping the idea alive. Even with things going full steam the vision of our enemy will still take them a hundred years to fully win the game and secure eternal governance. They are playing god, they are playing at the game of power with the intention that they will rule forever, and they are committed to winning the perfect game. The more perfectly they manage things in advance the quicker they bring on their victory conditions—they could have been much less harsh on us if they had forever, but they want to get it done and whites have to be out the picture for that, so they are trying to get it all done this century. The gambit of the model is vulnerability during this period because maximum movement means cutting loose all the horses

The enemy game plan relies on a coalition to create a superstructure—this coalition was only made possible by cherry-picking certain elements—they own every piece on the board, but can only pick one set. Even though the pieces belong to the enemy, replacing one piece from another can upset a whole chain.

The nature of such collaboration will always be informal and short term—they will remain an enemy alien and our ultimate aim must be to eliminate that element or incorporate it's strength with our own, unconditionally. In fact this will be essential, the principle of using groups and institutions will be a mainstay from the start, and long into the regime phase. With that understood the empowerment of radical Islam in our borders should be seen as good thing compared to integration—though we ultimately oppose them all at the point of a gun they serve our cause in so far as it discredits the system. Though it is also our goal to discredit and eliminate the right—there are circumstances

where supporting subverted groups or institutions may also make sense.

The inability to reconcile self interest and principles in this way is the reason the modern movement can't think strategically. All this is simply common sense, but is comprehension that only comes from the application of consistency—which must draw its power from a world concept that can provide the proper inferences and conclusions.

PHASE ‘0’

IF WE ARE to genuinely claim the correctness of our ideas then it should be expected that we are capable of putting that vision into a reality, especially since it is in the formation of the idea that all the—requisites for future achievement are based. It is also important that when we create our nationalist world concept doctrine, we can say that we are not only the sole owners of it, but that we created it. Our task is to completely overturn the political landscape by setting an entirely new standard of thinking, and method for how politics is conducted. This is what can be called a ‘1922 moment’—here the world sat up and took notice—it captured the spirit of that time and they saw that by scientifically modeling themselves on that courageous organization, they could achieve the same—gradually marching columns of uniformed storm troop appeared all over Europe. What had been universally established was a new way of doing things and this has been practically achieved through phases;

Phase 1—the pitch: to conceive the new idea and demonstrate its potential and abilities through practical results

Phase 2—consolidation: Universal recognition of the idea by nationalistic forces and the march to power.

If a magnetic world view *is* going to serve as the foundation of our new political movement, then it has to be conceivable; its originators must be capable of illustrating it —and the idea must be capable of being clearly

communicated. Otherwise nothing new has been brought to the table and its basis is the same as every other political organization; an invitation to an already existing urge that wishes the creation of a movement—but does not yet quite know how. The infallibility required to command others is impossible without giving some understanding of the world. Since its aim must be one that is within reach and can be accomplished in the real world, then it must attach itself to a theory that provides complete context to the movement as being a central part of a historical process.

In the end our role is to form social presence where our ideals can blossom in a time of crisis and carry to the people a complete understanding for the nature, extent, and limit of the fight. This process can only be reached through juncture —we cannot appeal directly to the people, the masses can never be the holders of an idea, they are responders—instead the tone of the pitch must be developed exclusively for those who will act as this agent for historical and social change, i. e. people who are already nationalists. In a society that is this bastardized we will find only a few allies, who will be the first generation pioneers, people who get it. Though theory will have to be simplified for public consumption, the fundamentals will never change the program or compromise on our values. We will never claim to speak for all the people, only believers—our messages are an invitation to become part of this great community we are trying to build, or get out the way. **Our_role_as_doctor_not_patient and the_reason_for_this_distance_is_significant_because_the masses__and__the_movement will_come_to_form_a symbiotic_role_with_each_other.**

PHASE '1'

THE NECESSITY FOR the application of strong principles to our general approach has already been argued on the basis that it will bring us strength where there was none before—that it will multiply current output because it is far more effective. *It_has_been elaborated_how_these principles_will_be_ultimately_apply when_it_becomes_a_player_in_the_game._Sometimes this has been vague and not very specific; 'The fascist method is like magic beans!* It is simply capable of tapping into an energy flow that no other right wing group can'. All of this has been the introduction to the main argument; that the application of these core ideals will essentially lead to a superior type of organization—*or_put_simply,_it_comes_down_to_an issue of_organizing_quality_control.*

Today the modern political movement is only able to operate on a quid pro quo basis. **It is a belief that the purpose of the party is to act as an organizer of resources; organizing activists, organizing capital, and throwing it out there.**

The modern political party is an organized effort in the principle of efficiency—the limit of its scope is in how best to work with materials. If your aim is to improve your organization into something that is better than this approach is analogous to the creative powers of a fire fighter—if all you are doing is putting out flames, then you will never adding anything of value. The lack of creative principles is linked with the strategic failure; if your only plan is to react to events, then you will always be reacting to the enemy's agenda, rather than setting your own agenda and being the actor that you need to be to have a physical

effect on the world.

The existence of a higher ideal is forever denied to all cowards. A program that addresses the core issue and is otherwise deliberately intent scaring away the timid and subverted sections of our movement is a good start in preventing the principles of the organization from degenerating, and preserving fighting power of our new form of muscular nationalism. It is the basis of the plan that has been presented here; what may seem like an obstacle to many people is in reality the first condition for our victory.

We must accept that the people will never openly support a fascist movement, if for no other reason than mass movements in general are a lie because even when the masses themselves do rise up they were never full members of the original group that instigated it—people are passive, and active participation requires and active mind. **World history is made by minorities that have come to embody the will and determination of the people as a whole to the extent that they at least do not face opposition in the seizure of power.** The majority of humanity, especially *Caucasian* humanity, is timid—though it has longings, hopes, and dreams they look to leaders. Understanding that the masses cannot be appealed to—the movement must understand that it will be feared throughout its existence right up until the moment it achieves its aim of taking power, and its doctrines form the basis of the new State—then, and only then, will the people be truly won over.

As well as being ideologically consistent there must be an achievable plan, or what communists called 'dialectics', is awareness of the historical inevitability of our idea some vague means of attaining power—of which there are no shortage, here are just a few examples; Force—only nationalists will matter, they are the strong, getting

stronger, and will make prey out of the weak. The socio-economic angle—nations as deracinated* classes actively plotted against by global leaders—revolutionary nationalism as the fulfillment of class struggle. The racial angle, speaks for itself—the inevitability of that conflict. The collapse angle—historical events will bring about the collapse of the system—to which we must now react in preparation to seizing power. The carrot angle—appealing to a higher form of human life. All these just as examples, one has to know when and how to use them—they must form part of a natural, living worldview—the Mein Kampf tongue that comes from the heart of a sincere believer. It is for this reason that the understanding of the party is as the basis of a world view—not a political organization that is sustained by programs. The adoption of a new pitch is also a new outfit to reinvent our idea and make a clean break from the rest of the movement. * (***Note:*** *The primary accomplishment of this practice of 'deracination' of indigenous peoples is to weaken their resolve; divide them into opposing groups; remove their ethnic and cultural cohesion, and to strap them down with a toxic imaginary guilt for the thoughts they have and the natural feelings they experience. This is to make of them a population which is more easily handled, controlled, and manipulated to the service of the Capitalist oligarchy and the defacto rulership of an arrogant Plutocracy.—HRM*)

Our propaganda will only be effective if its purpose is to promote an idea, not an organization. It will be the task of the organization to own that idea by best representing it. **Principles allow us to be consistent**—but we must also play the ball as it lies; we must speak in a street oriented fashion. We can work only with what people understand (which is nothing of politics), it would be a mistake to create a 'new religion' with all its theological baggage. **There will be no time to 're-educate' people—**

in practice, either through the speed of a collapse or the escalation of circumstance—the party plan has to be instantly accessible at a moment's notice. It is for this reason that the goals of the organization should be grand, total, and national in its aspirations—in practice the fight when it happens will come down to basic biology.

We are therefore in for a tough fight—we must be the knight that saves the people, not the other way around as so many seem to believe. It is exactly like when the original '1922 moment' occurred, there were two groups *of* people, those who fought as fascists and saved Italy, and those who didn't fight at all—It isn't rocket science, but sometimes you have to wonder.

While the role of propaganda is to promote an idea, the aim of an organization is to gain 'members', an inability to distinguish between these two is not only why modern propaganda is alienating and ineffective, but why *does* organization fail. **That_the_word_'member' as_it_is_most commonly_understood_is_a_completely general_term_that_has_come_to_mean_a_set_of_contact details in_a_database_and_a_subscription_at_best,_goes some_way_to_illustrating_the_extent_of_this_failure.** We may win anyone to our idea—in the necessity for a new and revolutionary transformation of the world. **Those who are conditional in their beliefs are not marked as being genuine believers; logically you are only one thing or the other.** With this separation, for the first time ever we can take them further—we solidify that belief, we explain just how right they are, they will come to understand the significance and importance of their role and the high aims for which they fight. We can do all this because we came out from day one with everything needed to instil this belief. Call it a 'Political religion', this is correct in the sense that it is carried out with the same fanatical belief that a genuinely

religious person has, **but in this case it is founded on rationalized political ideology.**

There are two types of supporter; members and followers; a follower is somebody who only agrees with the program of a movement at his or her own convenience. Their role is mostly passive just like the rest of humanity—the type and quality varies, and though there can never be enough supporters, but as a strategic factor they all equate to zero sum. A member on the other hand is somebody who not only agrees with the program but believes in it enough to act as a willing agent for the organization and the cause it represents—and never compromise on those ideals. *(**Note:** Kamerate Ziotio Garibaldi has recently stated that "we can never win the support of the public—their hearts and minds if we repeatedly insult them for not donating enough pesos or for not being available for a street demonstration." translated from the Spanish by H. R. Morgan)*

This means that;

A He is willing commit physical bodily effort on behalf of the cause.

B He will speak up when there are those who spread evil and falsehood. He is secure in his beliefs and ideas in such a way that nothing could make him betray them.

C He plans for how political association will affect his employment, family, and general life. Simply put, members are what make things happen—it is all about changing things, and cultivating this is the highest priority. This type of class A requires something that is worthy of this kind of dedication and commitment—but is

routinely denied it by organizations that appease the majority of followers—which is why this kind of attitude rarely flowers.

It is therefore preferable to not pressure the participation of followers—if they are unable to openly support the cause for various reasons then with this we are fine, and we understand—there is no need to force awkward compromise so members and followers are the same thing. Again this is the basis of the distinction—let followers be followers in their way, and let members ascend unhindered to new heights of fighting strength. Not only is it preferable, **but_it_is absolutely_essential_that_the_fighting element_remain pure.** A movement whose goal is to win over the hearts and minds of a people **must appear to be strong and able to defend itself. This conviction for right of self defense and motivation to do what needs to be done, that reflects an ardent faith.** *(**Note:** Kamarate Ziotio Garibaldi has recently stated that "we can never win the support of the public—their hearts and minds if we repeatedly insult them for not donating enough pesos or for not being available for a street demonstration." translated from the Spanish by H. R. Morgan)*

History provides plenty of examples to draw from. Famously the communists practiced this principle using a process called 'self criticism'. They would get together with their peers where they would confess their ideologically incorrect thoughts, their doubts, religious experiences, sentimentality, and would then explain what they intended to do about it, why they were wrong to think such things, and how they will try to prevent such thoughts resurfacing in future. Did the millions of communists that died ever

really read or understand Marx? No, but they willingly gave their lives like they were nothing, for a higher ideal on this earth.

Likewise, we too must answer with our own political faith, exchanging a defense for the battle-cry of attack which will summon the best of our people.

Out of the catharsis will come a new type of man who doesn't flinch—whether it is a soldier or a politician. **We_do_not_need_intellectuals, what we need are brutes who can form the lines hard so they can take and dish out punishment, and who can rise above fear. This is possible only when we can develop a common culture unified in mind and will to the question of how political and moral consistency can be applied and promoted. There is already rising opposition to the trend of weak kneed pandering and autistic intellectualism that has been going on for years, and now its fruits are there for all to see.**

It is time for a conversation between the best of us that will see general concepts molded into a sharp political program, that, and generic nationalism into political faith. The most significant achievement we can hope for in the coming years through the application of all these principles is the creation of a tightly organized community of willing believers who based around this new nationalist concept doctrine. This is the only way a movement can be founded **so that it develops the inner cohesion and uniformity of its cause**, so that it will develop the necessary strength for the battle.

PHASE '2'

WHEN THE FORMATION of this new type fighting organization is achieved and proves itself by becoming undisputed leader, then victory at the next stage can be assured. **And this relates to establishing the organization as the main opposition movement to the system,** and the dialectical relationship that the organization has to the *indigenous* population (**Note:** *Here is another example of the ideal of self preservation inherent is all fascisms.*—HRM). If the fight was between us and the system then we would almost certainly lose—We need to make it so the people absorb the lash of the system instead of us, the masses cannot be allowed to simply sit on the sidelines while watching the back and forth. If we are to win, then the deciding factor is how we force their participation.

As it stands, though we can't be certain yet, there is a portion of the population from which we will be able to appeal directly to supporters at this stage, it is small—say about 5% of the population, for our purposes it will be more than enough to work with. Furthermore we can expect about 30% electoral support as the main opposition following the breakthrough. It works like that—we will either have nothing because we are doing it wrong—or we get this thing right and that is where we will be in a couple of cycles. **The extremism of our "winner takes all" electoral system re-enforces this threshold.**

In addition there is the opposition to us and the people—there is 5% of the population that are ideologically brainwashed enemy assets; the value if these people is not that they are soldiers, but that they are bureaucrats of one form or another who have been rewarded with privilege.

But it is to the majority 'middle-group', the 80-90%

are complete *like* cattle, that we are going to focus our attention on. The people are interesting, they are capable of understanding and they get angry over issues, but they always back down if they can because they just want to be left alone. **If you push them into a corner though, and you keep pushing, having already taken everything, then they become something feral.**

The principle we work to **is what we might call the 'radicalism of the middle group'**; the people are like a couch potato, totally engrossed with whatever they are watching—in this state they are completely passive, and will do absolutely anything to avoid tearing their eyes away from the screen and getting up for anything. However when forced into a fight, these same people will be even more radical than the 5-10% vanguard, because you made them get up from the sofa, and now they are super pissed. Riots, lynch mobs, revolutions—are public expressions of this.

The problem hitherto has not been with the people, but their leaders who have failed them—until now. The presence of a new hardline movement will, through its actions, have a triangulating effect on society—**the debate is no longer between the system and the easily manipulated public—but between two extremes.** In this instance everything becomes radicalized and **the opinions that people used to hold privately become acceptable by public comparison**. It will be an enormous challenge **to actively win the people, however, pulling them out of the clutches of the enemy by creating ground free of the enemy is a realistic first aim.** When this is achieved we will bring in the next stage, which will be to force a fight with the system in such a way that it attacks the people, in a way that benefits us.

Our whole strategy places value on the public expression of a hard line and determined ideology—

because it has an influence that the mass of society cannot help but succumb. Without courage, the people will always back down and focus on the **controlled opposition**, but if there is one man there to hold the torch and carry it forward, then true opposition shines for all to see. It only takes the sight of a courageous fighter to see that such people are genuinely principled, and to understand what it is that he is fighting against, and to then draw the proper inferences. **A free voice that doesn't mince words but spits hard truth loaded with rationalized *rage*, will take its toll on a public imagination.**

When the shining star of our new idea appears on the horizon and the curious people draw nearer and nearer, there will come a point when the system can no longer distinguish between the curious and the instigating members—by making the people feel the effects of the system instead of us a great service has been performed for us in providing us cover and preparing the people for the victory of our idea.

To summarize this strategy, our gambit remains, as always, that we speak only to our posterity—to the men and women who share our dream—we never take our eyes of the ultimate aim, and never compromise on our convictions. The implication of this in practice is that contrary to all received wisdom it may be favorable to us in the long run to carry out acts that will outwardly carry no practical results. It may not meet with public approval, may have no outwardly positive effect, and may not yield any results in and of themselves—however, whether it is a playful stunt, a free voice, or something else, if there is symbolic significance then the sacrifice will be repaid a thousand fold. Every example that we make will inspire and strengthen us. For the time being we shall be beaten and the system will continue to emerge victorious; but each of these will be

Pyrrhic victories. **Repression by the system will do our work for us in preparing its defeat; it will make us into heroes and it will brutalize the masses and fill them with rage, and because we did, it has redeemed as the only alternative—the defeat of absolutism as inevitable.** As brave sons of Europe, we risk the lash in order to sow the seeds of tomorrow.

It lets everyone know that we alone are the center of gravity for the struggle of our time, because we raised that awareness and we most consistently reflect that perceived reality. Conversely the strategy of the enemy has been to hide this as much as possible—their efforts are the creation of false conflicts and false dichotomies. When this fails we supersede the false opposition, then the system hits back the same way we do—with example which is why transgressors are punished as harshly as a conscious political activist. With an activist, the system has to count their losses. What we think of as the collateral are more than the so called casualties of political correctness; lives and careers have been wreaked for people whose crime was to make a joke, the higher their social standing, the greater the punishment.

The emperors who have no clothes is the proverbial basis of this society—one laugh is very loud. Therefore our own efforts are geared to play on this social curiosity, because it is in this curiosity that there lurks the chief danger to the system. It is in the naively curious of today that we will find the members and followers of tomorrow.

Right now there is a new 'reign of terror' as some parts of the system are getting out of control. The way in which the ruling ideology has made all sorts of 'progress' in recent years; It has developed plethora's of new sexual communities, Micro aggression, liberation cults, anti-racism in just about everything—this speaks volumes of the extent to which they have become insulated and detached from

reality. Simultaneously the system is faced with this issue—

Assured of victory the vanguard is taking an 'all or nothing' approach with the everyday people, making them pick sides. Pushing for complete consolidation, they openly declare how they will look forward to the day when all white normality is trampled bloody under the multicultural majority. The system has declared war on the indigenous population—but without an escape plan, there can be no credible opposition within the system to stem this trend they started. Events are now taking on a life of their own.

We must form a role as to how we can accelerate this process, because right now the people are being left relatively alone. We must convince the system to force a fight at the moment, to make them *(the people)* take an attitude of being either with or against the system. This is called playing the extremes against the middle—we want the safe neutral ground in society to bottom out—we want things to get worse so that the system burns its bridges.

Every person who has been kicked out of work or education has been saved for the revolution, for they have forever been denied access to a system of bourgeois life with which that same system can blackmail them. Pushed into our ranks, it is in this sense that worse is better—because it will create the social class necessary, to draw from that is free from the hooks of the enemy. Today there are already millions who are getting bolder by the day, not protesting, but they are getting slack, not keeping up appearances. They are starting to take notice of racial and nationalist issues eager to know what is happening and why nationalists will fight and suffer persecution.

In every town and village, in every institution of daily life, the will of the organized and determined minority must be

struggling for sustained effort. In the movements moments of difficulty, dissolution and despair it must be the hard core round which the weak and the dismayed may rally, the modern movement in struggle and in victory must be ineradicably interwoven with the life of the nation. No ordinary party of the past resting on organizations of old women, tea fights and committees, can survive such struggle. Our hope is centered in vital and determined youth, dedicated to the resurrection of a nation's greatness and shrinking from no effort and from no sacrifice to secure that mighty end. We need the sublime enthusiasm of the nation, and the devoted energies of its servants.

Oswald Mosley—'The Greater Britain' (1934)

THE KAMPFZEIT

The specific events and 'showbiz' years of the UK's Fascist political party from 1932 to 1940 do not require summary—let this serve as an introduction. What is being conveyed here *are* the feelings of the time and personalities of the individuals.

FASCISM AS A UNITARY DOCTRINE

THE FLAG OF British union was a testament to truth, even when it blew this way and that, all who walked under it knew its true direction.

What is instructive **is how the movement combined many different currents;** the assertive Fascism of Mosley, Thomson's social theory, the cultural Nationalism of Chesterton, the modernism of Lewis, the anti-Semitism of Joyce, the Blood and Soil of Jenks, the Social Credit of Douglas,—Social Darwinism, Romanticism, Esotericism, Revolutionism, etc. In my opinion **these_are_all_authentic Fascist_attitudes.** In our current time they have all gone their separate ways and **as a result have lost the dynamic element that made them previously effective—their fascist soul. This proves Fascism was not a coalition of socio-political doctrines, but as with any other generic concept, they were beliefs that all share the same thinking and the capturing of this thought in the underlying generational struggle of that time brought the significance that allowed all these things to be fought for and the people united.**

THE SACRED FLAME

From the outset the movement also established itself as more than another 'just another political party'. To its followers British Union offered a powerful redemptive vision of self sacrifice and martyrdom to achieve a national and racial rebirth which drew heavily on metaphors, mysticism, and Christian symbolism.

This theme is most noticeable in Mosley's Speech 'Comrades in Struggle' (1938) In this he continued to refer to his followers as 'my Blackshirts', long after legislation had

made the wearing of political uniforms an offense

"Brother Blackshirts . . . Our fight is for the soul, and in that battle we go forward together till victory be won. Our struggle is hard, because we are fighting for something great, and great things are not lightly or easily gained.

. . . In the true revolutionary, the first quality is the power to endure . . ."

We care not whether we win tomorrow morning or at the end of a lifetime of labor and of struggle. For to us the little calculations of the little men mean nothing. All we care is that win we will because Britain demands it and no power on earth can hold down the will within us...

In the great moments of supreme struggle and decision it is easy to hold that character, even in supreme sacrifice. **It is not so easy in the hard daily task. It is then even more that in the great fights we have together that I would like to be the companion of every one of you. I would like to be with every action team that carries the message of our new faith to new streets . . . For these are the jobs that come, by the dedication of thousands to that mission of leading the people in their own homes and streets, revolution is won. In that task I cannot in body be with everyone of you every day. But in spirit I am with you always.** Because this work of the dedicated Blackshirt will win the Britain to which my whole spirit is given.

"Together in Britain ***we have lit a flame that the atheists shall not extinguish***. Guard that sacred flame my brother Blackshirts until it illumines Britain and lights again

the path of mankind."

"We ask those who join us to march with us in a great and hazardous adventure. We ask them to be prepared to sacrifice all, but to do so for no small and unworthy ends. We ask them to dedicate their lives to building in this country a movement of the modern age, which by its British expression shall transcend, as often before in our history, every precursor of the Continent in conception and in constructive achievement. 'We ask them to re-write the greatest pages of British history by finding for the spirit of their age its highest mission in these islands. Neither to our friends nor to the country do we make any promises; not without struggle and ordeal will the future be won. Those who march with us will certainly face abuse, misunderstanding, bitter animosity, and possibly the ferocity of struggle and of danger. In return, we can only offer to them the deep belief that they are fighting that a great land may live." Oswald Mosley 'The Greater Britain' (1932), warning of hardship and sacrifice

Another Blackshirt J. P. Sheddick wrote ***"I live only for the day when the present rotten, corrupt, decadent system will finally collapse through its own eternal decay, and on the ruins of the old we will build the new—and what a clean sweep we will make of that day! All the fat greasy Asiatic parasites who have victimized on our country for so long will find the day that the day of reckoning has arrived—and Britain will once again be British." He was Secretary for the Mayflower Book Club in Plymouth, there were dozens of these book clubs up and down the country during the period 1946 to 1948 and it was these the principal front organizations for***

the Mosley Movement. In February 1948 the Mayflower Book Club, along with about 50 other such book clubs and small nationalist parties, were folded into Union Movement, Mosley's post-War party launched in February 1948.

John Charnley recalled the first conference with Mosley after the war;

"Land!, Land!.
True I am to my land!
While seas secure,
this land so pure,
O may our old language endure."

The enemy hates everything you treasure in life, he hates your leaders and he hates you! You should be aware of the enemy intentions—which is to make you lose your victors crown that you hold by belonging to the (**Note: *the publisher has demanded that this phrase be censored*) ******.** The science of the human mind is not Psychology, it is Myth. Nations are based on Myth, and nations are made of people who need examples to look up to. Times in the past we can look back on when we overcame a great obstacle that can inspire us *onward*—battles, miracles, destiny, heroism—these things make a people, these things make a man. What does the man of the people—the little man—the man in the street—really want? In his heart of hearts he wants to be great because that is what the green earth made him. He thinks of himself only in the sense that he wishes, if he were to die, his death would have meaning. That he is of no significance sickens him because he knows that in this cold empty universe there is his *people*.

Let us remember the great figures of the past, the heroes

we grew up with and inside ourselves awakening once again to the myth of the blood.

The call does not address itself to stupidly proud bourgeois who doesn't care *about* his ancestry and runs death and destiny. The call addresses itself towards the tragic human being—the man who will only achieve victory for himself by challenging his fate, challenging defeat—and is willing to surrender his life so that he can at least die a free man. He is the heroic man who must overcome all resistances because he cannot do anything else.

Those who live with the dead know their lives are only a link in the chain of generations which runs their ancestors down to their grandchildren who are tied to their decent and are responsible by their attitude and their way of life to the future. Our Nation was baptized in fire and blood—honor the men who had to walk through corpses to reach their final victory and ask yourself this question; are you worthy of the blood in your veins?

THE WHITEWASHERS

People who cannot handle their historical 'guilt' are liars, and it is to these liars we give the name 'white-washers' because they purge and rewrite the past for their own ends in a way that is so clearly and unscrupulous that it discredits the rest of us.

The movement today condemns the white-washers, but only because they too actively condemn the past because they too want to avoid negative association.

What is claiming historical exceptionalism if not another form of whitewashing? It is still based failure to accept responsibility based out of the desire to be publically accepted.

Though some may think this sacrifice well intentioned, they are throwing the baby out with the bathwater. If we have to ask permission from our enemy to be who we are then that's it, we lose. We don't have to ask for anybody's permission.

Any kind of whitewashing is a futile peace time luxury—when the chips are really down and the starts, the only thing people will be concerned about is that the killers are on our side.

History is above petty judgment because there is no such thing as a little failure. When the iron men of the thirties succeeded it was in a big way, when they failed they made great failures. It had to be so, men of that calibre in the great fights of history don't make little mistakes. They fly so high and so far that they steer their courses by city maps.

They ask not "what street is that?" but "what continent?". If they get off course for a moment, it will be sure to pull up a long way from their goal. This is inevitable given their range and speed. Little men who never get outside their own basements point to these mistakes with great self satisfaction, and will explain how 'they did it wrong'. History has a way of dealing with these critics by dooming them to quiet obscurity. History cannot be bothered to preserve these names, she is too busy writing the names in the stars triumphs and defeats

The arrival of fascism in the 20th century was the greatest event of world history (*and its renewal in the 21st century*), it represented not just *as a* second chance for our *nation* to pick us out of the dirt but an existential basis for new life no matter how bad things get.

It is not an empty task we now undertake in reviving it. Left to ourselves the ideology like the movement would have devolved into a thousand abortive groups with no sense of duty to the past.

That fascism remains in its pure form (even more now the chaff is from the wheat), is due entirely to the miraculous element within it. **That element is supplied by a cast iron world view that has the power to project us into the future.** What fascism accomplished in just a few brief years were prodigies of moral conquest that left the whole world reeling and without explanation.

THE CHAIN THAT BINDS US

In earlier times when our *people were* healthy and concerns for survival dominated western thinking, men *and* women conceived the world as a battleground. Our ancestors believed that any threat to their ethnic survival *acted as* one force, and believed unquestioningly *in* their own right to struggle for a life on this earth. They understood the gravity of the situation, that it was life or death, God and the devil, things were very black and white, there *was* no room for gray areas. There was no room for neutrality, one had to pick a side and do so with the understanding that they could expect open warfare from enemies. The fight would be real and deadly and would last as long as life continued.

These basic facts of life have not changed since that time, but the interpretation has; Today people think of the world, not as a battleground, but as a playground. These believe as such: "We are not here to fight—we are here to frolic and be nice to everyone. We are not a fortress in the land of our fathers—but at home in a foreign land."

If you have the right beliefs and the right blood in your veins and you think you have a hard time in your life, Expect it!

The reason for this is that Britain is special among all countries, others nations have not been so lucky—most did

not abandon sanity through reason but through force of arms. We are different, we went willingly, we had pride in ourselves, and were too proud. From the start the nation wreakers knew how to use this and now they fly the flag of *miscegenated* Britain for the servile masses, **and the people justify to themselves in perverse 'patriotic' terms as if to say we had 'always been this way'. It is identity theft, they stole our country.** The reward the English got for winning the war was to accept even more depraved conditions.

An entire nation without an identity; we simply trusted in our leaders and our old ways because we had always done good by them, and so we never asked anything from them—we never had the of our *ethnic and cultural* survival ingrained in the national life and the state, *so that the people* could not challenge institutions as they became corrupt. We never had a revolution—we talk about dead heroes, but our people were mincemeat, and still are—slaves to be butchered at the whim of their masters. Transient values are what made us the 'tolerant' people they said we were, and with such a attitude it was not hard for the war propagandists to make a paradise look like hell, and then make Hell look like a paradise. And so it is today;

It doesn't matter at what level the deception runs, whether it is the complicit civilian or the politicians, money jugglers, religious leaders and wire pullers—the well meaning naive or the puppeteers, all of them, are in their own way—makers of slaves. The idealists all give promises of an unattainable paradise, thereby deceiving and demoralizing mankind.

As with any victim, to cure we must stand as doctors ready to diagnose the national psychology (*or 'neurosis'*—HRM) which has become defective, destructive and self fulfilling. Victims of abuse typically react with hatred that is

built up in one of two ways; in most cases they turn it in on themselves in the form of self harm and self loathing—a vicious cycle. Alternatively they become bitter and take it out on the rest of the world by going on to embody their abuser and so abuse others—Ethno masochists. This accurately reflects and explains the two main character types in modern Britain; demoralized and neurotically sad saps—and the absolute evil subhuman scum of society.

Whoever they are, the British people as a whole *who* live and breed want—entitlement, entitlement to all except those few things necessary to their continued existence as a people.

We are a strange people—the more you spit on us the more we like you. They love it, get off on it. I contend that the English make the best slaves in the whole world, not only do they peacefully accept their inevitable destruction, but they actively promote it; we never miss a chance to applaud 'impoverished' immigrants *and* civil rights heroes when they burn and loot the cities we used to live in with the aid of blackberry messengers, we dutifully protest every single war not because we care for the lives *of* our soldiers and their families, but because poor foreigners are getting hurt. We lead the world as the favored home of bankster-elitesters, and as the Liberalism ground zero in regards to the total psychological demoralization and breakdown of *our people*, no other nation can claim such an array of titles. For not the first time in history we have rightly earned the name of *Perfidious Albion.*

I want a better England. Who could not want a better England? Not just a return to Empire and Expansion, but pride expressed in old Albion, a pride in something that will take us somewhere great, on a road out of this hell.

This is England, Our England. We have traveled a long

way from Chaucer, Milton, Elgar, and Bunyan, Shakespeare and Bacon, from Raleigh and Drake and Nelson, from our once green and pleasant staunch and sturdy land—to a country of ring-fenced mountains, council slums and urban estates, keep-out-of-here and don't-go-there. Grotesquely uninformed popinjays and rancid old heifers going to ball and banquet while the people rot. If we no longer disallow and cease to stand implacable to such as these ship wreakers before they steer us onto the rocks, *then* we are done.

We have ridden unseeingly into the valley of cursed blood, and obscenities have been allowed to our sceptered isle. To our detriment we allowed our enemies to pollute our sacred heritage—England has become a (**Note: *at the demand of the publisher this phrase has been censored***) circus; the rejects, the spastics, the bent, the mental cripples of the world have gleefully *illegally entered* our Motherland and are fucking her down to the knees without *mercy or* clemency. What is England now but the laughing stock of the Earth? Hand-outs to every continent of *foreign* wasters weakens our divinity. Absolute shame that we must one day never look back on.

Look at Britain today, what do you see? A completely demoralized society; emotional numbing/misdirected outpouring of emotion, addiction, low self esteem, depression, apathy, anomie, stress, substance abuse—this is the hallmark of life in the 21st century, and is symptomatic of suppression of great instincts. It is a trauma, and what a trauma, that is what it amounts to.

From birth everybody is supposed to be entitled with rights and freedom, everybody is a unique and precious snowflake, everyone is an individual and nobody belongs to a group. It is important that everyone is supposed to feel the same and ignore differences. **The scam is that we live in a self hating society where one part of the people are**

always going to be privileged and the cause of inequality.

The greatest cause today is the presence of white people—because they know we are better, and they hate us for it. The only way this equality can be achieved by current methods is to humiliate and destroy Europeans and this will go on forever no matter how much they give. This is what 'civil rights' mean, it sounds like you are given something when really you *are* having something that is yours taken away. Not a single lot of a people *has been* improved by agitating for *so called civil rights*—when they all scream for rights it is because they want to punish the (**this line is censored by the publisher**), just by being him he is better than they are and that makes them feel bad—so he should be made to feel bad as well, he must go down to their level. **The gift we have been given is a debt of multiplying guilt with no means for absolution—a system based on a lie that misery is good, must run on misery. A generation of westerners prepared for comfy middle class living go into higher learning—only to end up digging in ditches and sitting in checkout counters, this is the fate of millions in the west.**

This century we are in now is going to be one of the most horrific, frightening and crucial to us because it is in this period from 2000 to 2099 that will determine whether the *European* dies off forever, or it goes up to the stars. Just to consider this fact is astounding—that those born today will be the last *Europeans* numerous enough to be called a 'generation' and those under the age of forty will live to know the final outcome. This outcome is going to be revolutionary, what kind of world will it be without *Europeans*? There will be no meaning because it is the

ethnicities, national people who *abound who shall live to* see all meaning and reason to live in this world *become* be lost—. If we win, then we get a second chance. We will start a new civilization that will one day be perfect, where everyone is (censored) happy, healthy, and intelligent—they will be biological gods.

A vision like this is what is worth fighting for and is what will save mankind.

The problem with the Globalists and Utopians is that they all aim too high. There is a paradise within our *souls* and it rests only on the shoulders of a great will. Tolerance is the organized social lie;

The lie is guarded in a fortress of lies—but this is no defense against the harsh realities of life. If the troubles of modern Europe were only economical and political in nature, we would probably lose because we would have nothing to offer as an alternative to this diseased madness. But there is a big empty hole in the souls of men that leaves them empty—he needs truth and justice.

That is why when we make this fight happen, and the battle lines are drawn between these two world concepts, and they meet on even terms—the final conflict will grant victory to the one that has truth on its side.

We will find this army in the youth that is growing up today during a tipping point in history because on their shoulders lies the whole oppressive burden of this world with nothing else to fall back on. There is no respect for the sins of the father—the father at least had a sense of purpose to wreak society—**now this is supposed to be it, the end of history, and you are supposed to shut up and like it.** Their consent was never sought or given, they were just born into it, fed lies five times a day and cannot make sense of the hypocrisy *which* surrounds them. A utopia can be made to sound nice, but it has made marriage impossible, *it*

is a living *that is* difficult to find, and **you are a foreigner in your own country.**

Communism is a limited creed, and its limitations are inevitable. If the original impulse is envy, malice, and hatred against someone who has something you have not got, you are inevitably limited by the whole impulse to which you owe the origin of your faith and movement; 'anything above or beyond yourself is bad'. But if the first impulse be envy and hatred of him, you are inhibited from any movement beyond yourself for fear of becoming like him, the man who had something which you had not got. The real urge is then to drag everything down toward the lowest level of life, rather than the attempt to raise everything towards the highest level of life which has yet been attained, and finally to move beyond even that. In all things this system of values seeks what is low instead of what is high.

"The idea is no longer the martyred form of the oppressed, but the beginning of a higher form. Men are beginning not to look down, but to look up. And it is precisely at this point that a new way of political thinking shape to what many are beginning to feel is a new urge of humanity. The ideal of creating a higher form on earth can now rise before men with the power of a spiritual purpose, which is not simply a philosophic abstraction but a concrete expression of a deep human desire. All men want their children to live better than they have lived, just as they have tried by their own exertions to lift themselves beyond the level of their fathers whose affection and sacrifice often gave them the chance to do it. This is a right and natural urge in mankind, and, when fully understood, becomes a spiritual purpose."

It's building up and up—because the air is getting thicker, the intensity is multiplying, the water is boiling, and there will come a breaking point

The people are a ticking time bomb, take away everything from them and give them one way out and they are going to be even more radical than anything, because you made them, and now they are pissed. Once the gate is open and it bolts, nothing will stop it. Turn them loose, and they will destroy nations. When that day comes the enemy will be on their knees praying for (**Note: *unfortunately this line has been censored by the publisher***)

It has been proven time and again that when a people appear beaten and crushed, they hold the whole world in awe when they rise phoenix like from the fires. Fires will come to England, and England will burn in a *conflagration* of flame—what will rise out of the ashes; *it* is up to us.

Sometimes—in the course of history—a build up of frustrations within a people comes to fruition, a conflict area occurs which can only be salved by war. This pattern has been constantly repeated since the beginning of our history; from the Greeks and Romans, from Alexander to Napoleon, during the first and second world wars and, eventually, in the third world war. The 21st century will be the ultimate war of nationalism, **(*censored by the publisher*)** on a scale so great that the human mind will be unable to comprehend.

There is conflict building up worldwide; in Dublin, in England, in Greece, in France, in Germany despite all of the ingratiating spices of the cunning enemy.

We will break through the cynicism of the youth because

the strength of Fascism has always been its humility, its agnosticism—it isn't arrogant it is about serving a higher god. Fascism gives us the most healthy and mature attitude to life, because it is about accepting the world you are born into for what it—denouncing what is wrong and not apologizing for what is right. A principle that defines us for instance is the acceptance of history and social traditions in relation to the ordinary people, because it is them whom the idea serves.

An egoistic outlook is one based on the preservation of the self—one's own image, the freedom to claim ambiguity, not make an affirmative statement, try to explain yourself in your own terms rather than what history and the simplicity of argument demand. **The strength of the fascist is that he is willing to recognize he is a fascist. He believes in the truth, and so he follows it through on its own logic even against adversity—people will respect that, because they know he fights for truth.** Fascism is sticking in the boots, no matter how hopeless the situation appears—because we know that we will win. He doesn't know what the future will be like, we can't know, it is like asking what happens after death; Is there nothing, not even blackness, and you never know you existed or is there something else—continuation, rebirth, a higher plane, we don't know.

You can only be humble before *the* universe; **(Note: censored line '*you must accept the people*')** you are born into, accept the truth—that is maturity, and that is our strength.

Our enemy is the opposite, abstraction is his strength; neurosis, angst, and infantilism to reinvent and adapt themselves—this is their evolutionary *plan* or survival strategy. It is a paper tiger, a front held up by sheer arrogance—Real truth is something the enemy can never

understand because to recognize the severity of this phenomenon it would require them to finally open its eyes to the harsh realities of life and in process give up the naive illusions that they harbor.

THERE IS A SPECTRE HAUNTING EUROPE

I THINK BRITAIN WITH its contrasts; a total polarity is what will demand a total victory like a wound up spring. Remember that when the fighting starts the world's 100 million Anglo-Saxons will be on the tip of the spear. Before the end things are going to get a lot worse; we are going to see massive change, more feminism, more third world immigration, more spilt blood, more acts of terrorism, more repression by the government. More guilt, more mental break down, more mind control, as civilization crumbles. It will be a harsh lesson but sometimes you have to go through hell. There will be rebuilding, it will be a complete nightmare, complete but one day—it will all be ours. It will be beautiful beyond our wildest dreams. A thousand years from now, not only *is it* just going to be the (best that the world has to offer—***censored by the publisher***), but a super eugenicized version, like an Arno Breker statue. It will be their worst nightmare. We will not fight this battle in vain, never again will we allow aliens to tyrannize over us.

Gone will be the self hate and sickly pacifism that nearly destroyed us. Heroism, Courage, Self—Sacrifice, too long condemned as militarist tendencies of which we should be ashamed, shall be recognized once more as the greatest attributes of the British *nation*. The fascist vision of Greater Britain that began in the dug-outs before death chilled even the capacity to dream will have been achieved.

Despite It All, You Still Won

We are nearing the end of phase one in Europe's history, but the next will be no happier, it will be, harder, and bloodier. And now I ask you in earnest, can Britain survive?

—I am profoundly *convinced* she cannot. I want a better England, and so do you—it is an England that is so terrible to contemplate none dare speak its name. It is the England which the enemy (***censored by the publisher***). It isn't a fake England, a pretend one or imagined tradition—it is a nationalism of blood; *and genetic* vision of self in the past and future tense—it is timeless.

To the dead heroes of Britain, in sacred union, we say:

"Like you we give ourselves to England;
across the ages that divide us; across the glories of Britain that unite us.
We gaze into your eyes and we give you this holy vow:
We will be true—Today, Tomorrow, and Forever!
ENGLAND LIVES!"

NationaAction 1932-2013
NationaAction MCMXXXII

INTEGRALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND MMXIII

By **BENJAMIN NOYLES**

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'MEIN KAMPF'—'MY LIFE'—'EUROPE 2083'—'THIS TIME THE WORLD'—'WHITE POWER' 'SIEGE'—'BLACKSHIRTS AND ROSES'—'COMRADE'—'WHY JOHNNY CAN'T THINK'

ROBERT BEST—VLADIMIR BORISOV—ALEXANDER SLAVROS—JACOB HORST—KAI MURROS—SEBASTIAN ERNST RONIN—MAX MACRO—TORREN BEITLER—DICK EASTMAN—HEAREALNOWHEREMAN—MIKE SLEDGE—HAROLD COVINGTON—COLIN JORDAN

* * *

No social political activists are more prepared for self sacrifice than the Fascist. No matter what names their organizations use, it is a main component of the basic

Fascist ideology to venerate the concept of self sacrifice. It is the avid desire of all fascisms that their people be rescued from dissipation, depressions, and the pressures placed upon them by outside influences. And, they are the most avid defenders of the continuation of their peoples; they fight to the death against the extinction of their people and they perform this supreme duty with no regard for their own lives; all or nothing—a fight to the death.

This has originally opened the door in all Fascist doctrines, firmly set upon the Fascist ideological foundation, that wherever the ideology emerges it is internationalism and extra-national Capitalism, with its deprecating effects on the mass of the population, which all fascisms declare themselves opposed to.

The following documents which have been advanced by the National Synarchists of Mexico (Sinarquistas) since the early 1930's completely meet all of the primary requirements for being a Fascism *(note: the name of 'Sinarquist' was first proposed by Zeferino Hidalgo—HRM).* As is usually the case, this particular national Fascist movement attained immediate popularity throughout all segments of Mexican society. So large was the following of Synarchism in Mexico, in such a short period of time, that its founder, Jose Antonio Urquiza, was murdered a year later.

The documents here included in this study are a perfect example of Fascist ideology. They are also a fine exhibit of the doctrinal adaptability of the ideology itself. Spirituality is to be found most extremely evident within the Sinarquista doctrine as it is based on the ideology of Fascism; and as previously stated, **Fascism cannot be exported, it is a sentiment which springs from the soul of a particular populace where ever it springs up as the ideology of Fascism is endemic to human nature and will eventually emerge in times of perceived crisis.**

THE SYNARCHIST MANIFESTO OF MEXICO

Interpretative translation by ***H. R. Morgan***

‘SYNARCHISM’ WAS THE name adopted by the founders. *The name* was *the* suggestion of Zeferino Hidalgo, *and the intellectual* San Luis Potosí. Etymological: from the Greek Syn = with integration. Archê, Arxé, Arje = order, structure, harmony and balance. Authority. *It also has a deeper meaning*: first: home of an era. Examples: Architecture, archetype. In the second case: archaeology. It is therefore a social and cultural movement “who wants a partnership with harmony, balance; with an authority *legitimately emanating from the free democratic activity of the people**”. “Alternatively, a social and cultural movement that marks the “beginning or start of a new history”. The definition was made in the beginnings of the movement in a very conversational manner: “order, with authority and important dates.’

Manifesto Union National Synarchist, to the People of Mexico

‘To the distressing problems *settling across* the entire nation, it is absolutely necessary that there is an organization comprised of true patriots, an organization working for the restoration of the fundamental rights of each citizen, which has as its highest goal the salvation of the fatherland.

Front of the utopians who dream of a society without rulers and laws, “synarchism” wants a society governed by

an authority legitimate, issued free democratic activity of the people, to truly ensure the social order within which to find all their happiness; but not in a selfish way, but trying all to achieve the good that everyone wants for itself.

Front of every human pain, every social evil, the synarchism intends to study how to suppress it and work to achieve this end.

Any thing that has social importance is indifferent; the common good will be his constant occupation and their task of always will be to reach you.

The synarchism is a way of being and living, a way of feeling and act against the problems that affect the general interest.

It is a spiritual, generous attitude, is the mood and will always willing to serve others. The synarchist asks nothing for himself; It must be always willing to surrender to every work that collective benefit, to provide the contest of civic forces, your money or your talent to put immediate and effective remedy to everything what constitutes a social evil.

The good of all, public happiness, moral and economic salvation of the fatherland, demanded a price: the sacrifice and effort that each should contribute according to their possibilities.

The synarchism is a positive movement that unifies, builds and makes much, and therefore, diametrically opposed to the doctrines underlying postulates of hatred and devastation.

The synarchism proclaims the love of country and oppose schemes seeking to erase the borders of peoples, to turn the world into an immense stronghold where easily prevail the wicked and perverse propagandistic inventors of these theories with all his strength.

The synarchism will be the most ardent defender of

Justice, accordingly be pursued to those who traffic in human misery.

The Synarchism cannot conceive that there is happiness and progress where there is no freedom, believes that this is the most sacred conquest of mankind and will fight tirelessly until it reigns in our country.

The synarchist organizing Committee launches in this manifesto appealed to all Mexicans who are willing to work for the aggrandizement of Mexico, to all those who, stripping it of selfishness, want to lend their cooperation to organize a new society on a basis of greater justice.

The ills afflicting our country will not remedy with laments, but with a well directed activity. The synarchist movement has implemented as North Road that starts to go, three luminous words adopted as a motto: Homeland, Justice and Freedom! (JUNE 1937)'

16 BASIC POINTS OF THE POLITICAL ACTION OF THE U.N.S.

‘1 **W**e consider criminal and cowardly defeatism of those who believe impossible to the resurgence of the homeland or expected from abroad to the salvation of Mexico. The Synarchists proclaim that the homeland will be saved when we succeed in our own cowardice and we decide to be real citizens in full exercise of our rights and duties.

2 We have faith in the destiny of Mexico and our effort moves to unite the homeland, to strengthen it and to dignify. We will work to make every Mexican an active particle of our movement that will save Mexico.

3. We call for the real union of the Mexican family and demand the subordination of individual interests or class against the Supreme interest: El De La Patria.

4. We condemn the tendency (Communist, neo-liberal, etc... *) which aims to merge all the homelands into a single universal Republic. We maintain our invariable nationalist position and will defend the independence of Mexico.

5. We reject calling it unpatriotic and tendentious classification that divides Mexicans into “left” and “right”, “revolutionary” and “reactionary”.

Mexico claims to be saved, the permanent union of all her children and only establishes a division: Mexican and anti-Mexicanos.

6. Reject all strange to our national symbol, not the swastika of Nazism, * nor the Red Star of the Communists. Mexico has its symbols and which do not defend them is a traitor.

7. We affirm the right to private property, but require the creation of social conditions that make possible all workers access to the same. Against the Communist cry “all

proletarians" are opposed to our "all owners".

8. We rebel against the injustice of a social order in which large majorities of men live in pigsties and a few live in palaces. We believe that evil is not the property but that this is that a few have it and her abuse, while the majority lacks the indispensable to preserve life.

9 We will fight because Mexico has an abundant production of goods and demand a fair and equitable distribution of the same. We call for respect for the product of work and guarantees for just accumulated capital. That on the other hand, must comply with the requirements and needs of the Mexican community, taking the limitations requiring the national welfare.

10 We condemn the class struggle which, in addition to dismantle homeland economy makes unfruitful. We urge the union of capital and labour to which free trade and close collaboration and within a broad social justice, carried out his creative work for the good of Mexico.

11 Do not accept the exploitation of one social class by another, both capital and labour, now driven by materialism without greatness, we will give them an ideal: the improvement of the Mexican community and the aggrandizement of the homeland.

12 We fight for a free tutelas strange and free Mexico inwardly. We believe that freedom is the unique atmosphere worthy of the life of the man and reject all tyranny.

13 We claim for Mexico real political and economic independence as a prior guarantee for real freedom of every Mexican. But for that Mexico might impose their freedom to other Nations, it requires joint action courageous, consistent and generous of all his children, ready to earn and claim for their homeland, honor and respect.

14 We condemn rape that natural freedoms of man make

dictatorships, and fight against those who seek to enslave the spirits. We are ardent defenders of freedom; but we declare ourselves enemies of profligacy, the cause of lawlessness and disorder, contrary to the authority and social order which claims the synarchism.

15 We repudiate the "hands-off" State, simple guardian of individual selfishness. We also reject the tyranny of despotic States, based on comprehensive intervention of their Governments, they absorb the individual activities, they enslave the wills and kill any personal initiative.

16 We want Mexico to having a Government fair, strong and respectable, aware that the service of the people is the only reason for his power, framing its action within the fixed limits the common good of the Mexican people.'

GLOBAL STRATEGY

‘IT IS THE basic Idea of how and why we work. We start always from the community or Local Group. This community would act according to your requirements or provisions of its members (if they are academics, farmers, indigenous people, artists or cultural creators/promoters, etc...). This work needs to be giving form to a group, movement, organization, project or the most propitious way to work. The Agency thus formed must have as its essential purpose, forging a new way of being, thinking and living. Always with the central Idea: the men and Sinarquicos women.’

‘And what will keep moving forward always to the sinarkas in the same direction and with the same spirit: consciousness of building a new civilization, a new society on the values of the spirit and sinarquica democracy.’

Its history, history with their effort, and discovering the signs of the Divine spirit, divine in the collective future of humanity.

The Synarchist lives *in* the power of the spirit, is renewed, and renews their society.

The Synarchist knows that if you want to make a new story, *he* has to be different in his thinking, in his being, in his life, as they will be new men and women who make the new society. The Sinarquista traits are: (a) *a fighting* mystique b) *being a* realistic critic (c) United and dynamic (d) disciplined, studious and free. (e) community.

1—MYSTICAL FIGHT.

The synarchist is a man or woman *that has* firmly

embraced its ideal *with assurance that* Synarchism can save Mexico and save it as the organized effort of Mexicans.

It is a man or woman *who is* in the *deepest* sense of the word, possessed of the desire to put an end to an unjust, oppressive, repressive, manipulated, society in decline. Cultivated in his spirit *is* an admiration, affection and respect by these,—projects, philosophy, hierarchies, and *the* mystique of the movement.

He has faith in the glorious destination of Mexico.

He loves freedom more than life.

AMA action because love makes great, builds, but not naivety.

Asks nothing for himself only, requests and thinks in common. It acts by all that have social significance, it works because everyone has what he wants for himself.

Not afraid of risk, discomfort to death.

He does what he has to do, does not expect reward for himself, knows that our struggle is for the homeland and encouraged by the spirit of God.

Consistent, his life isthe confirmation of the cause which proclaims.

Speaks clear, ever murmur of their bosses, their partners are treated (you) as brothers.

A stalker of everything that prevents the new Social order, and he also knows to show the spirit of freedom, justice, solidarity and dignity that encourages those who without being our, they fight for a new world without oppressors and oppressed. But is alert for those who pretend to or profit from the poor and humiliated. It is with the eye open to the signs of the times. To act effectively in place and time fair, with cool head and burning heart.

Who does not have this mystical is because still not

discover his mission as a human being, as a person, and thus may not be synarchist.

Dios inspired Prophets to announce his project, *whereby* he inspires us so our stock contribution to implementation of the Kingdom in the heart and in the man society.

2—REALISTIC CRITIC.

Hope in heaven and on earth work.

You know the facts, the reference will always be *founded upon* the reality.

Do not falsify *the facts of reality*, not to distort *them.* This realism makes us *take as our starting point* concrete reality

We look at it, *questioning it. And, thusly, we are able to* 'See'

Asking why and for *what reason or* purpose.

Think.

Transform it. ACT

3—SUPPORTIVE AND DYNAMIC.

You can say you *are a* Patriot or nationalist, *but the reality of this* goes beyond, the synarchist feels part of *his* people and its future warrior.

No colors and songs *stream out from* behind him. *he promotes* the love of *his* people and its culture, aware of the slavery of his country, knows *his* history, struggles, falls and *strikes out.*

Knowing that human beings need adequate conditions to live and perform as such, *is why we* fight, for solidarity.

It does not stop at talks *over* coffee, *and he* who speaks a lot and recently is a traitor. It betrays *that which* the fight demands.

4.—DISCIPLINED, STUDIOUS AND

FREE.

Discipline *is* necessary to carry out an objective *through* habits and conduct.

We sinarquistas developed the insurrection *and resurrection of and by* the spirit in our land, as warriors of the new world, the synarchist releases his intimate war *on* arrogance, mediocrity, sectarianism.

It takes the personal discipline and assumes the militia of our movement discipline, because this is essential for success. Discipline is coordination, movements, forcefulness, achievement and learning efficiency.

It is therefore important to have thirst for wisdom, read, learn, study. The personal and collective will is invincible and the basis of the will is freedom. *To* decide military movement is free choice, is to accept a discipline that will make us new men, new women, wiser, more perfect.

5—COMMUNITY.

Synarchism is brotherhood. Society is a *human collective* linked by legal, historical, and economic relations. Community is a group of people United by emotional ties *and in agreement on* their objectives. The community comprises:

Psychological development, social participation, fraternity.

Community spirit makes members to discover their abilities, help each other and develop effective action in society.

Community is transcendence between the anonymity of mass and individual selfishness. It is force. It is knowledge.

Community is to have history and destiny, it allows us to have personal and collective identity.

It is school of values, it is a model of the new society.

It is a space of mutual respect and support and social leadership.

Channel for the participation.'

THE PARTY: ORGANIZATION FOR ACTION

By ***Lawrence Dennis***

AS WE POINTED out in the first chapter, those who feel the poet's impulse to wreck this sorry scheme of things entire and mold it nearer to the heart's desire are confronted first of all with the problems of a social system which does not work and the tasks of conceiving, inaugurating, and operating a successor system which will.

Whatever else they may wish to accomplish, such as special types of social protection and social security, this they must first achieve and maintain, namely, an orderly functioning social order. Translating the poet's desire into an enterprise of social action, therefore, must be the work of leaders and followers, or a party of persons, with a will to power and will, through the use of power, to change what they may find intolerable and to conserve what they may find desirable. Such an association is a political party.

In this enterprise government is the principal tool or instrument to be used by efficient group or party organization for desired ends, which may be considered good or bad from different points of view. Contrary to liberal assumptions, government is not a neutral machine like a ship, of which public agents are the crew and the majority votes the owner.

Nor, to use another simile, is government to be thought of as a sort of slot machine which will play any tune called by a majority vote. Nor, again, is it useful to consider government as a sort of divinity to whom prayers or

petitions may be addressed.

Government cannot be completely controlled by periodical exercises of the ballot and it responds to pressure more than to petition. Modern government controls public opinion more than public opinion controls government. Here I include within the meaning of the term government the powers who rule the chief agencies of opinion formation.

Government can either be conducted by a political party having certain social objectives or, as happens under liberal capitalism, it can be conducted by the resultants of innumerable contradictory but efficiently applied force pressures of minority groups. In the one case, that of a planned society, the objectives make up a plan of national interest which has to appear rational and good to many people. In the other case the liberal type of government, for instance—the plan of national interest resulting from the blind play of minority group pressures in the pursuit of individual and small group interests has to be assumed to be both rational and good. The chief object or good of this liberal scheme is to play that type of game. If millions go unemployed indefinitely or suffer needlessly, these facts are regrettable but unavoidable incidents to playing the game.

If any numbers of people, even the largest majority find themselves so dissatisfied with the results of this game that they want other results, they cannot achieve their wish by voting changes in the rules of the game. They must, more or less, outline the results they desire and set out to achieve these results. This means that they must capture control of the government machine, keep control of it, and use it efficiently for the ends they desire.

If a majority of the people share this desire and join this enterprise, it would seem fair to say that their party and the resulting government are quite as democratic as any other.

The fact they no longer will to uphold a game which suits our big financiers, promoters, and their batteries of lawyers, the fountain heads of exposition and definition of Americanism, the American system and the American Constitution, is not tantamount to saying that the people no longer wish liberty, law, order, and security, or that government has ceased to be representative of the people.

The chief aim of this chapter is to emphasize the logic and inevitability of a disciplined political party organization for effective and responsible action through the instrumentalities of government by any large association of people having a set of common social purposes and not having the advantages for action in self-interest commanded by combinations of small numbers of the wealthy and economically mighty.

The chief point of this final emphasis on the mechanics of party organization for action not protest or petition—will be found to dispose of most of the objections to fascism as being chiefly a thing of shirted armies and their violent acts. These objections usually go with a failure or refusal to see in liberal capitalism the realities and meaning of existent uniformed legions of the state and private corporations.

Combinations of small numbers of the economically mighty, nowadays usually of large corporations and banks, for specific enterprises of self-interest, are exceedingly effective and disciplined in action. A popular movement of several hundred thousand or several million people for some idealized scheme of national interest has to have a discipline and technique somewhat military or hierarchical in character in order to be able to cope with the effective uses of money and power made by these minority group combinations of the rich and mighty. The old liberal idea that law, justice, and court rule enforced by executive action will suffice to enable the people to deal with minority

combinations exercising power for private gain is absurdly false, as has been pointed out throughout this book. A score of great corporations can raise ten million dollars for anti-social purposes of price-fixing or public-opinion manipulation more easily than the Republican or the Democratic Party can raise a million-dollar campaign fund. As for the chances of an incipient socialist, reform or populist party of the frustrated and discontented raising a million-dollar campaign fund, they are not worth talking about. And the combine of a small number of vast economic interests can use its funds more efficiently and more unscrupulously than any popular movement.

The shirted legions of fascism are the answers of the popular will to correspondingly effective uses of power by economically mighty minority groups. The liberally conducted parties of reform or socialism in various countries at various times have captured political offices. They have even captured the titular headship of the government. But they have never captured power. Only Lenin, with the aid of the soldiery of a nation in arms, has been able to capture power for Marxian socialism. And only the fascists, with the aid of their disciplined legions, have been able to capture power for an effective scheme of national collectivism.

It is incorrect to say, as do many liberal and socialist critics, that control of the machinery of government rests with any one person, group, or clique of persons or groups. Wall Street, the big bankers, and the heads of the great corporations no more control government than the gangsters and exploiters of gambling and prostitution. No group or coterie of groups controls liberal government or could control it. And no group acting for a minority money-making interest would want to control government. Such control would impose all sorts of obligations and cares and

yield none of the financial rewards so generally coveted and so often obtained either from legitimate business or illegitimate rackets. Any two-by-four bank operator or speculator will, with a little luck, make and salt away a fortune such as no fascist leader would ever dream of acquiring. No; the interests, legal and illegal, which are often incorrectly said to control government in America, wish only to control the making of certain specific decisions of government affecting them. And in return for these particular exercises of power they are willing to allow and aid other predatory interests to do likewise. Thus, an interest opposing a given tax will support any public extravagance in return for support of the tax reduction sought.

In this connection, it should be remarked that a party seeking political power or control of government must have a large mass following, such as no group of private interests could long command, and such a political party is never likely to be initiated by a group of individuals on the make. For the latter, liberalism is the perfect system. It allows power and control only when and where power and control can be exercised momentarily for private interest and it exempts those who thus use power from any real responsibility to the people. But, playing the liberal game prevents any reform, socialist, or popular party from ever being able to do much about serious social problems. The fundamental reason why the party receiving a majority mandate to clean up a city government or to effect some large social or economic reform on a national scale cannot exercise political power or control adequate for these purposes is this: Such an organization or party, including its candidates elected to office, lacks the only type of organization and group discipline with which political control can be acquired and exercised.

As an eminent English economist on a recent visit to this country has so aptly put it, one cannot legislate successfully beyond the ability of administration to execute. And administration requires the right personnel and the right technique of using personnel.

Reform, socialism, or a really new deal cannot be effected by passing laws alone or by law enforcement by officials unsympathetic with the new program, or by law enforcement under the rulings of a judiciary loyal to legal and constitutional theories incompatible with the new program.

To accomplish its purposes, a reform or socialist party must take over control of government quite as thoroughly and masterfully as an invading army of occupation. This the liberal mandatories of the people cannot do, for the excellent reason that they have not an army or do not constitute an army. The liberals who undertook to set up and conduct a liberal republican government in Germany after the war were doomed by the fact that, having no army of their own, they had to rely on a hostile army for the execution of their policies. An organization of mere joiners, button-wearers, membership dues-payers, parry-meeting-attenders, and straight-ticket-voters is not an organization with which anything important of a governmental or constructive character can be done. The button-wearers and dues-paying members neither constitute an army nor can they hire an army, something which, not only a billion-dollar industrial corporation, public utility, or bank can do, but something which even any first-class gangster is able to do.

It is, however, a great mistake to infer from the arguments for a disciplined party organization that, if it includes some semi-militarized units of men, the chief reason for this type of organization is to enable the leaders one fine day to seize power by a violent coup d'état. The

gates to power were opened to the fascists in Italy and Germany in perfectly legal ways, not because the government had reason to fear an armed fascist attack on the government (for, at that time those in charge of the government could have liquidated the fascist organizations with a few whiffs of powder), but because the titular head of government felt that the fascists alone were able to exercise political control once they took office.

It is strange how people who regularly sing "Like a mighty army, moves the Church of God," and who regularly drill and parade in the uniform of one or more fraternal orders, will see in fascism only militarized organization for violence. The chief end of disciplined organization is not violent overthrow of government. For, in any country or moment, except a conjuncture like Russia just before the communists made a violent seizure of power, a disciplined fascist party would naturally seek to come to power in the easiest possible way, which would be a legal or conventional way. The chief end of disciplined organization is the efficient and responsible exercise of political control after it has been obtained.

Considerations of mass responses indicate disciplined organization. Men and women of the sort who are useful in any constructive undertaking prefer a political party or an organization of any sort to be orderly and disciplined. There are, of course, many people who prefer disorderly associations and meetings in which there is no real leadership, authority, or order. Such people merely want organized mass gesturing and argument.

They make up the rank and file of the socialist, populist, and reformist parties. But the vast majority of people prefer group behavior patterns which are orderly and seemingly effective to some end other than that of merely blowing off steam. The fact, of course, is that more than half of our

working populations, in their daily occupations, are subject to an organizational discipline which differs from that of an army only in unessential respects. Our large city political machines have been disciplined organizations with hierarchical command for generations, facts which explain why they frustrate, defeat, and survive reform mayors and administrations.

Then there is the consideration that only through a type of organization in which there are appropriate units for administration and the transmission of orders is it possible to make efficient use of the resources of men, just men, for whatever the ends may be. The usual trouble with a party and leader elected to office on a reform, square deal, new freedom, new deal, or socialist platform is a failure to fill up the lesser executive posts of government with sympathizers with the new ideals. And this failure is due, not to a lack of such sympathizers qualified for these posts, but simply to lack of a type of organization which can make available personnel known to the chief and subject to direction by him. The liberal system tends to put personnel choice and management in hands like those of a Mr. Farley.

Another important consideration indicating the inevitability of disciplined organization is that only with such a type of organization is there likely to be clarity as to objectives and unity in action as well as an enlightened use of men and means for a given end. It would be easy to enumerate absurdities in personnel and policy choices as means to announced ends of liberal administrations. If policy decisions and governmental orders have to be formulated with a view to the needs of orderly administration by a disciplined party organization, most of the (utilities and contradictions of liberal reform or liberal socialist parties in office will be averted.

The realistic political party machines of liberalism, such

as those of Tammany Hall or the old Republican Party National Committee had rather more order and efficiency in action than the reformist leaders. After all, these machines had considerable organization discipline and clarity of aims, for the chief aim was spoils and the means of obtaining and retaining power in order to get more spoils. In the city and state governments these machines can still operate fairly well by simply passing the buck to the national government on all serious social problems, be it the war on organized crime and abusive monopoly, or be it unemployment relief. But the political machines of both the Republican and the Democratic Party of old are now doomed by the need for drastic social solutions. They can no longer side-step social issues, and maintain party unity and discipline on the central issue of getting and holding power as a means to spoils. The farmers of the West or the unemployed anywhere are going to force the issues on those in charge of government or running for office.

The imperatives and controls of a hierarchical party organization are now needed as never before, and they can no longer hold together an organization built around spoils. In groping after drastic social solutions, a political party must have the guiding and controlling forces of a disciplined organization, operating through members of a party council who are exercising governmental powers and who are constantly at grips with current problems. The guiding and controlling function of a majority vote, recorded every two or four years, was always largely mythical. Today, administration cannot be guided or controlled by majority votes every two or four years. The majority vote, for instance, cannot decide in between elections whether government should follow a policy leading to war, declare war or maintain neutrality. The majority vote cannot control the day-today decisions of government about

economic policies, nor can the majority vote indicate a body of legal rules which can possibly bind government to any fixed course on the uncharted seas of economic control in which government is now everywhere navigating.

Only the party council, constituted more or less as the general staff of an army in war time, can guide or control public administration in these vital matters. The most dangerous and vicious possible guidance for public administration is that of a vote catching opportunism or that of a defensive mechanism trying to make day-to-day adjustments to minority group pressures.

Control of public administration is not a matter of having public debates and organized group manifestations, culminating in periodical majority votes. This is true today as it never was before on account of the potentialities of propaganda and the command of such potentialities by minority interests which have no genuine concern with public interest. One could go on indefinitely elaborating reasons or supplying concrete examples showing why a disciplined political party organization is essential to the orderly conduct of government in the present world crisis. Once his thought is directed along this line of inquiry, the reader's knowledge of conditions and imagination should enable him to develop this thesis to almost any length.

It remains to discuss briefly the question of how many political parties are possible or desirable. It may be said briefly that a planned economy, such as either fascism or communism must achieve, precludes most of the features of a multiparty system or even a two-party system along liberal lines. A good part of the case against a plurality of political parties and a periodical rotation of parties in office would be a repetition of much that has already been said about planning, the inevitable uniqueness of a national plan and the evils of minority group pressures which are

necessarily irresponsible, antisocial, or anti-national and utterly incompatible with the successful pursuit of any possible scheme of national interest or public welfare. A plurality of political parties, no one of which can ever exercise responsible control, can only mean a plurality of irresponsible minority group pressures, the chief objective of which will be spoils and never the realization of a scheme of national interest. One can never prove by science or philosophy which of several parties has the right or best scheme of national interest, for the decision or selection in such a matter must express an emotional attitude and depend on the ultimate values preferred and the premises taken for granted without proof. One can, however, sustain in a scientific or philosophical discussion the contention that a country has to make effective one scheme of national interest in order to avert chaos. And one can argue rationally that a country is better off with any one of many possible schemes of national interest efficiently pursued than with the anarchy of innumerable powerful minority interests operating in ways to render any effective social control impossible and, thus, to make any scheme of national interest unattainable. Such an argument would be largely a restatement and explanation of the historical trends and forces which brought order out of medieval chaos on the continent of Europe through the rise of nationalisms during and since the Reformation.

Granting that all government, like all human nature, is full of imperfections, there is no good case to be made out today for insistence on periodical changes from one bad government administration to another. Improvement would not seem to be best favored by periodical rotation of parties in government. One does not seek improvement in the management of Ford Motors or the Standard Oil Companies by changing administrations every four or eight years. The

best answer to the argument for periodical party changes in administration is that such changes are not changes in anything vital or important to the masses and that such change prevents the development of competent and responsible leadership. Personalities in administrative offices change, but the dominant interests and the system remain unchanged.

To the question "How might an American fascist party, called by another name, of course, arise?" It would be idle to attempt a precise reply. The right answer, which only future events can furnish, must depend on a combination of adverse conditions, the reactions of the adversely affected elite, the dynamic personality of a great leader and the opportune moment and set of circumstances for his dramatic emergence from obscurity to leadership.

The objective conditions and the probable reactions of the adversely affected elite we have discussed. The personality of the leader, the point in time of his emergence, and the nature of the circumstances of his emergence we cannot usefully discuss, for these are unpredictable factors. The French and Russian revolutions could be and were predicted.

But Napoleon and Lenin could not be and were not predicted.

The fields of analysis and synthesis and, also, of useful speculation in which preliminary work can be done, are those I have attempted to explore. In this concluding chapter I have attempted no discussion of the techniques of disciplined party organization in the United States, because these are matters in which we have already abundant skill. In discussion of the question whether or not a country should prepare for or make a given war, there is no need to discuss the art of war. In arguing for or against the construction of a proposed canal which is admittedly

possible, there is little need for an engineering treatise on the building of canals.

The real issue for discussion is whether those who want a different social order with the conservation of many of our present values should organize for the capture and use of government to this end, or whether they should merely go on protesting and petitioning without occupying themselves with the tasks of creating and operating the kind of social order they desire.

Preparatory thinking and discussion at this time can be most useful in exploring the possibilities of uniting a large number of the right people for successful action around a scheme of objectives. In this connection it is important to lay a major stress on the imperatives of order and the possibilities of choice in making up a new program. A successful party might get started with a set of promises to satisfy every interest. But it could not carry on long if it seriously undertook to keep all these promises. We may well get a fascism through a party making and breaking innumerable promises. It will be a better fascism to the extent that enlightened opinion formed somewhat in advance, forces the new movement to be intellectually honest.

Undoubtedly the easiest way to unite and animate large numbers in political association for action is to exploit the dynamic forces of hate and fear. The most dynamic persons in any new political movement are those in whom frustration and defeat have generated most hate and fear. Obviously, the only way to avoid hates and fears is to prevent frustrations and remove dangers. If liberal leadership succeeds in doing this for the underprivileged nations and the underprivileged members of the Rite within nations, fascism will not triumph over liberal leadership. If, however, liberal capitalism is doomed, we must expect its

successor to be largely the work of angry and frustrated men with a will to power. Preparatory thinking, nevertheless, can bring into alliance with these men the less frustrated and embittered and bring to the new movement their contributions. Only a body of enlightened and sympathetic opinion will be able to impose on an emergent fascism, counsels of moderation and avert the extremes of a bitter class war.

CONTROL: THE PROBLEM OF POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

After requisite enlargement of the market, economic control is the next largest problem for an American fascism. Control, management, or government (as one may prefer to term it) of the right sort, or thoroughly adequate to the demands of social order, may be thought of in two broad divisions: First, there is political organization, or the mechanics of control through the use of the coercion of public authority; second, there is indoctrination or the inculcation of right social attitudes to make the social order work.

UNDER POLITICAL ORGANIZATION, the two major functions can be called those of administration and representation. Administration is government. It includes the making, interpreting and enforcing of laws, regulations and public policies. No useful distinction can be drawn between making, interpreting, and enforcing law, or—the national plan. Administration is getting the national plan realized and preventing its defeat or frustration. Representation is the process through which government is kept apprised of the popular will and through which government makes the popular will understand and will the means and ends of public administration.

The term democracy will not be made the subject of any essay at definition, but the point may here be interjected that, if democracy means the rule of the people, it must mean that rule under some efficient formula of political organization. The people do not rule by legal definition but by efficient political machinery. The efficiency of public administration in controlling the conditions of life in a country is the measure of popular rule.

It is a distorted sense of reality which calls the rule of impersonal necessity under extreme laissez-faire the rule of the people. The people rule to the extent that they are disciplined and cannot individually do as they please, and not the extent that every man can do as he pleases. The

people rule to the extent that the nation can do as it pleases. Anarchy is not the rule of the people or any individual. It is the rule of disorder or nobody. There is no one model form of popular rule. Most of the rules of liberalism which are most touted as safeguarding popular rule merely insure the rule of the rich, powerful, irresponsible, and selfish who, under liberalism, can produce expressions of popular will and opinion to suit their selfish interests at the rate of so many dollars a given unit of expression of popular opinion or will.

The scheme of political organization should make the most rational provision for efficient administration and useful representation of group interests in the determination of public policies. At present it may be said of the American political scheme of organization that tradition is its ruling principle, while in every other American scheme of organization rationality, or fitness of means to ends, is the ruling principle. Fascism would make the American scheme of political organization conform to the standards of fitness of means to ends which govern in all our other important schemes of organization. In other words, fascism would rationalize our scheme of political organization. Fascism holds that we must be administered as a nation, not as a confederacy of sovereign states, and represented according to group interests which have the greatest importance and which are prepared to accept responsibility for full cooperation with government, not according to regional residence.

Integration of governmental agencies and coordination of authority may be called the keystone principles of fascist administration. Applied in the United States, these principles would mean the end of our federal system, of state's rights and of the fictions of a functional separation of powers as between the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of

government. And, needless to add, these principles would mean the replacement of the existing organizational pattern of public administration by that of a highly centralized government which would exercise the powers of a truly national State, and which would be manned by a personnel responsible to a political party holding a mandate from the people. This party would be the fascist party of the United States undoubtedly called, however, by another name.

The ruling principle would be instrumental rationality, or fitness of means to ends. As everyone who has a nodding acquaintance with American history should know, the rationale of the federal system, with its forty-eight states and one federal State, is not that of fitness to any logical scheme of present day ends of administration and popular representation, or to any real or strong present day feeling of the people. The rationale of the federal system is that of a compromise made among representatives of regional group interests after the American Revolution.

Most of the people in these regional groups of the American colonies, whether the influential or the poorest classes, had no national citizenship other than that of the mother country. After the American Revolution, most of them did not have even that. They had come to America in flight from distasteful religious, social, or economic conditions in the mother country. America, for them, was not a new nation but merely a place of escape and an opportunity to work out a new scheme of life with as little government, and as much laissez-faire, as had ever been known in a civilized community. Few of the American colonists in 1776 or ‘1789 wanted an American or any other kind of nation. At first they wanted simply to be English colonies almost wholly free from English control and taxation. When the stupidity of George III and his advisers denied the American colonists the boon of a large measure

of laissez-faire, they had no choice about relinquishing British nationality.

It was only by dint of vigorous argument and hard trading that the nationally-minded few among the triumphant American colonists succeeded in making the American Constitution, and the federal system based thereon, as national as it emerged in 1789. And it was only after the triumph of American nationalism in the Mexican and Civil Wars that we could be said to have passed the stage of loosely confederated colonies which had thrown off allegiance to a foreign nation but which still had not created a nation of their own.

Without laboring further these obvious historical facts, we may say that the American system, in so far as it is expressed in a literal interpretation of the Constitution, was never intended to meet the requirements of any adequate scheme of national aims, but merely to hold together as well as possible thirteen colonies which wanted neither to be separate nations nor yet to be welded into a new nation. We may say further that the trend of Constitutional interpretations, as well as of institutional developments in American politics, has been definitely and overwhelmingly in the direction of making the United States a nation with a strong central government.

Those who talk in favor of a stricter interpretation of state's rights and against an enlargement of the powers of the federal government are, therefore, in harmony with the dominant thought, feeling, and purposes of the American colonists who created the federal system, but against the trend of developments in the system ever since. This being true, we may ask which is the more American, the thought, feelings and purposes of a majority of the founding fathers, or the trend in the thought, feeling and purposes of the dominant majority of their descendants? Surely the only

good Americans are not dead Americans—and those longest dead.

After all, there is nothing un-American about centralization. No country has carried national integration, coordination of authority, centralization of power, standardization, and rationalization further, outside of the governmental structure, than the United States. In the economic sphere, the great trust, or the billion dollar corporation, or the holding company, as well as myriad legal devices for centralizing control, are tremendously important cases in point. In the field of cultural and recreational associations, no country has more national associations, economic, fraternal, cultural, and recreational. And in no country is there found more homogeneity in such organizations.

In matters of taste and distinctive habits, no country a third as large as ours is as standardized as to dress, styles, architecture, customs, speech, daily reading, and recreations as we are. Travel a hundred miles in England, Germany, France or Russia, and distinctive regional difference assail the eye, the ear and the palate. Travel three thousand miles in the United States and remain on the same economic level, and you will scarcely notice a difference—unless it be in climate or natural scenery. The scenery of a hotel lobby, the main street, any store, church, or railroad station interior, will not enlighten you as to whether you are in Maine or California. No country has been better prepared for political and social standardization, whether under fascism or communism, than the United States. Our national corporations and social organizations have unified and nationalized us into the most standardized people on earth, mostly during the past thirty years.

The early American colonists were not American nationalists but British colonials. In their peculiar and

favored situation of that period they wanted none of their original or ancestral European nationalisms and felt no need of an American nationalism. Ever since, we have been steadily perceiving our need of being a nation, and we have been modifying accordingly the original work of the founding fathers. Today we find ourselves faced with the need of completing the rationalization of our social order by becoming a rationally organized nation. Has this trend of adaptation of political means and institutions to changing needs and problems been un-American? If American is defined to mean 18th century English colonial with a dash of insubordination to the mother country, and a lack of necessity, nerve, and cultural homogeneity to create a new nation on this side of the water, then an American fascism can rightly be called un-American.

The fact is, as a few of the founding fathers were far-seeing enough to foresee, since the American Revolution we have had either to become a nation through the unifying experiences of several wars and the steady expansion of our territory, or else finally to regularize our colonial status by reunion with the mother country or some other European country that was a nation and acted like one. A people blessed with our resources cannot, in a world of competing nations, enjoy the advantages of group culture and solidarity without becoming a nation and acting as a nation. Had we chosen not to act as a nation, we should have received the same treatment China and Ethiopia are receiving today. And today the extent to which we must complete or rationalize our nationalism is being largely dictated by world conditions over which we have no control. We are too large and significant to play the role of a Switzerland or a small Scandinavian country which is protected from foreign intervention by reason of being in a strategic position near great powers, whose peaceful

relations, being maintained in a delicate balance of power, will not allow the absorption of these little and comparatively defenseless States. But such circumstances will not protect a large country like China or the United States against a predatory great nation.

So we may say that it matters little how American jurists, historians, political scientists, or states-rights men, profess authoritatively to define the American nation and delimit the powers of its metaphysical forty-nine separate sovereignties. What they have to say is important mainly to themselves. The only definition of the American national leviathan which has validity must be written by the necessities of group self-preservation and assertion of group values in a world situation which no one nation can control. In the face of prolonged foreign menace or aggression this would mean, concretely, that the national government would be forced to choose between scrapping the Constitution and scrapping the country. It would be an easier and more satisfactory transition to a purely national state and a centralized executive formula of government if it were worked out more leisurely in peace time under the immediate pressures of only domestic order imperatives.

Were there space for it, a lengthy and well documented case could easily be submitted to show that purely domestic problems indicate only slightly less urgently than foreign challenges to our security the inadequacy of our federal formula to the demands of order.

In matters as different in character as waging war on desperate and nationally organized criminals, the policing of every sort of business activity, domestic relations and divorce, industrial regulations for social protection, or simple relief for the army of the unemployed and destitute, it is easy to show that satisfactory results can only be obtained by the national government.

The time has come to ask, Why the States? and to reject answers which amount merely to saying, "Because, while the American nation was still unborn and only a series of colonies, the fathers of the Constitution and colonial confederation found it necessary to make compromises with ideas, feelings and purposes which were then widely and tenaciously held and which are no longer held." It is time to recognize that not one American in ten really thinks any of those 18th century American colonial thoughts, feels' any of those feelings, or cherishes any of those purposes in deference to which our system was originally devised. Many more than one citizen in ten, possibly, will be found to profess all sorts of faith in and attachment to state's rights, out of respect for past tradition, and current opinion as to what is the correct attitude in respect to such tradition.

Abundant proofs of the insincerity of these professions of attachment to state's rights can usually be remarked even on superficial notice. Thus, a man who professes great attachment to his state, will often be found maintaining outside of his state a legal domicile or business headquarters to lessen his tax bill, or going outside his state for cheaper labor or materials, or sending his children to school outside the state, or invariably spending his vacation outside the state, or using great ingenuity and pains to get the better of the state in a dozen different ways.

In most cases of particularly vigorous champions of state's rights, one can go through the man's history with a fine toothcomb in vain to find one instance of his ever having made a sacrifice for, or a voluntary gift to, his state, or any other person, merely on the ground of a state tie. People feel some special ties to fellow members of all sorts of associations, religious, fraternal, professional, and commercial. But one seldom finds instances of people showing real evidence of feeling a stronger bond with a

fellow Pennsylvanian or Californian solely because of state origin.

It is nothing for anyone to deplore or apologize for that he or someone else never gives evidence of a genuine and disinterested partiality to his own state or of a feeling of peculiar solidarity with a fellow Kansan or Rhode Islander. Associational groups, to merit any respect or admiration from outsiders, or to deserve the loyalty of insiders, must have some logical reason for their existence, or must serve some purpose useful to insiders and outsiders. Today it is difficult to find a logical reason for the existence or functions of state governments as provided for in the Constitution. The state boundaries, generally speaking, correspond no longer, if ever they did, to economic or useful administrative divisions of territory. The states are just survivals, the explanation or rationalization of which has to be made exclusively in terms of the 18th or 19th century conditions, feelings and purposes, most of which have long since ceased to be operative.

To say that an American fascism can find no use for the present federal set-up is not to say that fascism would have no use for regional subdivisions for political and economic administration. It is only to say that political subdivisions must correspond to some rational and useful purpose to which the states cannot be said to correspond. Nor is the rejection of the federal system as prescribed in the Constitution tantamount to a rejection of local self-government or a denial of representation to any significant group interests.

The forty-eight American states are not divisions of territory, people, or interests which are any longer significant or relevant to useful purposes. State boundaries in many instances arbitrarily separate areas which are united by a series of community interests and which could

constitute political and administrative units. Thus, the metropolitan area of New York, a useful geographical unit for administration and representation, is divided by state boundaries. For purposes of political administration or representation of significant regional interests, the metropolitan areas ought to be separate units.

So far as regional divisions are concerned, it would seem today that they should be drawn from time to time solely with reference to the needs of efficient administration. While as for regional representation, it would seem most doubtful that any good can come of attempts to provide for political representation according to geography. If there must be minority group representation, and it would seem that there must be, it should be representation only for groups having interests that are peculiar to the group and common to all or most of the members of the group. Now, it cannot by any stretch of the imagination be supposed that the people living in any one of the states, Pennsylvania, New York, or Illinois, have interests in common as inhabitants of those states, except as such community of interest is artificially created by the state form of government. The residents of the metropolitan cities of New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia, have more interests in common and of a nature peculiar to residence in a big city than the residents of New York City have with the farmers of upstate New York. The ends neither of rational administration nor rational representation are well served by the state organizations of the federal union. If this proposition be reasonably true, is it good Americanism to be irrational and bad Americanism to be rational?

So far as political organization for representation is concerned, it must correspond to the rationale of power politics and workability. If, as is the case under our present system, the attempt is made to give representation to groups

like the inhabitants within an area artificially delimited to correspond to no present day significant cultural or economic boundaries, one gets, among other things, an unofficial and irresponsible representation through improper and often illegal ways of real group interests such as bankers, the utility companies, the manufacturers, the farmers, trade unions, the American veterans, certain religious associations, and so on. Liberals and eminent elder statesmen are constantly deploring the behavior of pressure groups in relation to government. And they insist on telling us that such behavior is not according to the rules of the game and should be stopped. With this naive thought they are constantly investigating, exposing, and legislatively forbidding, the improprieties of minority group representations. They forget that these minority groups constitute real communities of interest, real force potentials, and thoroughly human factors and, also, that they have no legal and proper means of adequate political representation. Reform cannot remove or curb these force potentials, but fascism can create for them socially disciplined instrumentalities of expression and representation.

The moral for the would-be reformer is that representation for unreal or economically and socially powerless minority groups like the inhabitants of regional subdivisions called states must be scrapped, and legal representation for real and powerful minority groups must be provided for in an adequate manner. Representation will always be proportionate to might, regardless of law or contrary ethical standards. The citizens of a state, as such, have practically speaking no political or economic might.

These same citizens as members of a public utility committee, a manufacturers' association or a labor union, have, as a practical matter, a very real might. It is for this reason that the laws and administration of state

governments, as well as of the federal government, conform to pressures of minority groups rather than to the pressures of the citizens of states as such.

It may be said that we have got along fairly well under this system. It is true that we have got on fairly well in spite of this system. The fact is that administration and representation will go on in spite of almost any institutional absurdities. The evils of the combination of a formal, legal, proper, and visible government by unreal group organisms called states, with an informal, illegal, improper, and invisible government by real group organisms are too obvious to need argument. These evils can be epitomized in one word—irresponsibility. Doubtless it is fair to say that no people deserve a better government than the one they get, or that the government can never be better than the people. A fascist government will be no better than the people and the leaders in power, but it will exemplify administrative functioning and group representation, which are responsible.

That is to say, there will be government persons to take full responsibility for acts of administration, and minority group leaders to take responsibility for acts in representation of minority group interests. In this connection it is apropos to remark, in passing, that the well-known hostility of the labor union leaders formed under liberal capitalism to the theory and practice of fascism is chiefly due to their innate aversion to an assumption of social or political responsibility. The labor union higher-ups are doubtless, for the greater part, fairly loyal to the interests of their clients, provided the permanent jobs and high incomes of the upper bureaucracy are secure. But they wish to play an individualist game for the smaller social group constituted by their members so far as the entire social group is concerned.

Labor union leaders have, therefore, opposed laws forcing on the unions incorporation and publication of financial statements. They like to be able to play with the millions of dollars which flow in dues into their war chest, without anyone outside of a charmed circle of three or four high officials knowing where the money goes. In this respect, the executive committee of an American labor union likes to work with the same secrecy and social irresponsibility with which executive committees of great corporations so often operate. Indeed, the best apology for the secrecy and irresponsibility of high executive action by labor leaders or corporate executive committees is to say that it is the universal way of exercising power under liberal capitalism.

Fascism believes in, and provides for, labor representation, but with full responsibility of group organizations for organizational decisions.

Perhaps the greatest single vice of the liberal system is that of the anti-social or socially irresponsible behavior of powerful minority group interests in determining the decisions and policies of public administration. The right to behave in these ways is usually the right which minority group representatives complain that fascism violates. The logic of the fascist answer to these complaints is the logic of a discipline necessary for the welfare of the total group. Any discipline to meet the order and welfare imperatives of the total group must force minority groups to accept representation of their interests, and cooperation with the scheme of the total group, in ways to make the totalitarian group scheme work. The logic of this discipline is that the members of the minority groups will not long prosper if the larger or total group does not prosper. Concretely, this would mean that the rate a power company might charge in a given community, or the wage a small group of special workers might obtain, would not be whatever could be had

by the use of the monopoly power in the one case or the blackmail power of the strike in the other case.

On careful analysis, it will usually be found that the rights of the minority group alleged to be denied or curtailed by fascism are rights to use a pressure in a given situation, really against society as a whole, for all it may be worth at that moment to that group. Obviously, if minority groups exercise their powers within the latitude allowed by liberal or libertarian principles, the results will be anarchic, as they so often are, certain groups getting the best of it and the majority of the people getting the worst of it. One of the functions of government is to impose a national discipline on minority groups rather than to furnish a playground with umpires and constables for the free play of minority group pressures.

The specific problems of mechanisms to effectuate national administration and rational representation cannot be advantageously opened up in anything but a highly technical treatise. No useful purpose would be served by a brief description of fascist mechanisms abroad, for such description would have to be too brief to be adequately informing and, however adequate it might be, it would be largely irrelevant to our peculiar needs and problems. No one need worry about the technical capacity for rationalizing governmental administration and group representation to be found in a country which has our record in the rationalizing of industry and the development of great trusts. We have working models in the modern corporation for organization for centralized control and management. In a great variety of trade, professional, and fraternal associations we have the models, techniques, and experience for solving all problems of representation. The State has all these resources at its command. And, in the United States, these resources are more abundant than in

any European country.

The fascist issue is not how to rationalize public administration in the technological sense of the term, that is, in the sense of making means suit ends. The only real issue raised by fascism in this respect is that of whether we shall rationalize our political system. This issue will doubtless be resolved not by the pressure of arguments such as those advanced in this book, but by the pressure of necessity in the face of challenges to our national security, the most dynamic and creative of such challenges probably arising first in foreign war, or threat of war, rather than in domestic difficulties.

This rationalization of our political system in the direction of fascism is in progress. It has been going on, at different rates of speed, since the days of John Marshall. President Franklin D. Roosevelt is forcing the issue, or being driven to force the issue, more than any of his predecessors. The use of the modern trust and the present-day uses of the modern corporation began during the last two decades of the 19th century. These institutions and ways have done more to make fascism inevitable than any European precedents. Economic conditions and events in the world today, the subjects of early analysis in this book, are providing the pressures which are driving this country and President Roosevelt towards fascism. And, as we have already amply stated, these conditions and events have to be met with measures of social adjustment for survival, not with attempts to disprove the actual, or with moral denunciations of what is wholly unaffected by the pronouncement of a moral judgment.

In any secular or long term trend of this sort—from one social system to another—it is idle to speculate about, or attach too great importance to, the exact moment when the greatest or more or less final change will take place. It seems

too obvious to need saying that there is little likelihood that, within the next four or five years, the United States will be transformed into a fully rationalized national State, which, in this book, is called fascist for purposes of identification with certain familiar characteristics of now operating systems also labeled fascist.

The purpose and usefulness of this discussion may be considered as the preparation of enlightened opinion and effective leadership for the inevitable trend of social change and readjustment. The greatest single merit of the founding fathers of the American system in the late 18th century was their grasp of the political theory of their times. The greatest single demerit of our leaders today is a grasp of that same theory to the exclusion of any other. Times have changed, and a political theory to suit the changed times is required.

A large gathering of Black Shirts in Italy

Giovanni Gentile

Maurice Barres

Marcel Deat

Lawrence Dennis

Jaques Doriot—Great French Fascist Leader

Wyndham Lewis

Jose Antonio Urquiza

Ann Brock Griggs

Giovanni Gentile

General J. F. C. Fuller

Corneliu Zelea Codreanu
(the Captain)

Signor Benito Mussolini close up

Gabriele D'Annunzio

Emmanuel Maunier

French Fascists saluting

Pierre Drieu La Rochelle

William Pierce

Sorel

Ernst Rohm

Jorian Jenks

Members of the French Fascist
Croix de Feu

General Eoin O'Duffy

A. C. Cuza

Juan Peron & Evita

General Quiepo de Llano

A. K. Chesterton

Alexander Raven Thomson

Henry Williamson

Generals Moscardo, Varela, and Franco

James Larrat Battersby

Mario Roatta

General Yague at Barcelona

Benito Mussolini saluting
the gathered crowds

Benjamin Noyles

‘How Social Life Will Be in the New State’
Codex Fascismo: Part Six

“This land belongs to you, it does not belong to the government, it does not belong to the drug bosses, it does not belong to the international finance Capitalist monopolists who pump your oil out of your land to sell it overseas for money which the suffering people never get a single peso of. Just because they have some pieces of paper from the government saying that they can do it, does not mean that it is right. They have only pieces of paper which they value more than the lives of this country’s citizens.”

Ziotio Garibaldi

“. . . up to now all revolutions have been incomplete, since none of them has served the national idea of the Patria and the idea of social justice at the same time. We integrate these two things: the Patria and social justice; and resolutely, categorically, upon. those two unalterable principles we seek to make our revolution.”

Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera

“The escapists produced by an educational technique combining the worst of Bentham and Marx with the best of neither become split personalities. Part of the time they are trying to adjust themselves to a bread and butter job, and the other part of the time they are trying to adjust social reality to personal fantasy by impotent manifestations of hate and bitterness. Because we admire Socrates and Jesus is no reason why we should suppose that the purpose of the school, necessarily conducted by a host of salaried mediocrities, is to create social rebels. The social rebels will happen just as surely as civilizations rise and fall, or as men are born and die. They will happen in spite of the school, not because of it.”

Lawrence Dennis

PLANNING: THE FORCE FACTOR

By ***Lawrence Dennis*** with Commentary by **H. R. Morgan**

IN THE PRECEDING chapter, in opening up the topic of national planning as one of the order imperatives indicated by the present situation, we saw the importance of ultimate values as subjects for discussion, choice, and realization, in connection with any national plan. In this chapter we shall stress the force aspect of national planning. For it is this phase of planning which draws the heaviest fire of critics of fascism, and it is a refusal to see the inevitability of the force factor in the realization of social values which condemns most reformers to futility. A few of the main points of this emphasis may be summarized at the outset.

First, social situations represent always a balance of power, or of the resultants of mighty pressures bearing upon every individual. It may be said that the social situation rests on consent only if it assumed that those who are powerless against the coercion applied consent to what they do not like but cannot alter. Except for. marked deviates, who are the exceptional cases, individuals tend to behave as the resultants of force pressures brought to bear upon them may be expected to make them behave in given situations or cases. In other words, there has never been a free society in which men and women enjoyed sovereignty over their choices or conduct. The free society which serves as the premise of so much liberal attack on fascism is the ideal of philosophical anarchy, and not the reality of any society that ever was.

Second, all government, liberal, no less than fascist or communist, has to be a monopoly of force and violence, or,

as one great statesman once called it, a perpetual conspiracy of power. The chief objective of this conspiracy is everywhere today, and usually has been in times past, the realization of a given scheme of social values which were both rationalized and cherished by those in power. Much present-day liberal criticism of fascism or the authoritarian State implies, when it does not actually make the charge, that the non-liberal States correspond to no social philosophy, to no moral imperatives, to no collective ideals, but merely to the caprice of the given dictator or governing oligarchy in power.

These implications or charges must seem absurd if one takes a calm view of demonstrations of support given to these governments by millions of people, whom it is not reasonable to assume insane or hypnotized by a single man or a small group of men. It serves no useful intellectual purpose to call what I like liberty, and what I dislike license, or to say, when the law suits me, that there is not coercion but freedom, and, when the law does not suit me, that it is coercive and oppressive. These tricks of argument or propaganda merely amount to saying that government is coercive only when it coerces me or when it coerces others in ways of which I disapprove. If I do not approve of the values or social objectives of a government, why not say so, instead of saying that I do not approve of coercion and that I love freedom? Everyone disapproves of certain coercions and wants certain liberties, all of which merely proves that the ultimate value is the thing.

Third, the more complex the technical scheme of social organization, that is to say, the more machines and techniques there are in use, especially in the economic processes, the more of government is required in order to realize the social plan or public order. Robinson Crusoe could enjoy all sorts of liberties from government coercion,

but he was deprived of all sorts of advantages which are only possible under a system of complex governmental coercion. Government coercion is not a function of a dictator's caprice or of the malevolence of certain people under any system. It is a function of the complexity and interdependence of the ruling scheme of social organization.

Fourth, coercion of human conduct, whether by organized government or the blind play of impersonal forces and fortuitous events, cannot have a quantitative measurement which is either valid or useful. We cannot demonstrate scientifically that there is more or less freedom or coercion under any one of the three systems, capitalism, fascism, and communism, than there is under the other. Under any one of the three systems we can point out different liberties and different coercions, or liberties and coercions for different classes. But how can we measure the liberties of American millionaires and high ranking officials of the fascist parties or the communist party? And what is the quantity of coercion represented by the plight of twenty-five million Americans who are forced to accept a charity which humiliates them and does not properly take care of them, or of eleven million negroes who are forced to accept a status which is understood not to make them entirely happy, or of an indeterminate number of politically proscribed persons in Germany, Italy or Russia? What is the scientific coercion and liberty meter which gives the American, Russian and German indexes of liberty and coercion? It cannot be the subjective expressions of feeling of those who speak for one class of the proscribed to which they belong and not for all the insulted and injured of the world.

Fifth, it is the total social result or situation, from the point of view of a given individual or a given group, which furnishes the only satisfactory subject for evaluation and comparison so far as social conditions are concerned. The

force factors are instrumental in every social scheme.

Sixth, the inevitable uniqueness of a social plan for a given nation at a given moment makes coercion necessary to realize that plan. Many people nowadays seem to reason that, inasmuch as planning is a new discovery—which it is not—and a good thing—which is purely a question of the plan and the point of view—the more plans, planners and planning, the better. In other words, let everybody have a hand at planning. The fact, of course, is that only one social plan can be operative in one country at one time if it is to enjoy public order. If two plans are operative in the realm of deeds, and not merely in the realm of dreams, speculations and wishes—the realm of liberal reformers and socialists—it maybe said civil war is either in course or in active preparation. The uniqueness of liberal capitalism as the operating system of one country at one time is best exemplified in the law of property.

The reasons why a given nation can have only one social plan operative at a time seem too obvious, on careful thought, to need any elaboration. Briefly, it may be said that the reasons are much the same as the reasons why traffic must keep either to the right or the left and not follow the individual preferences of drivers. There can be no social order if every individual reserves, and exercises freely, the right to make certain choices according to his own preferences rather than according to the dictates of a unique social plan of the community in which he lives. Our Supreme Court, in ruling on a citizenship case, has held that even a woman wishing to become a naturalized American citizen may not take the oath of allegiance with the reservation that in the matter of fighting for her country she will obey the voice of conscience instead of the voice of the state. Freedom of conscience under liberal capitalism has never been an absolute freedom.

No minority, religious, racial, or cultural, can be allowed to inculcate doctrines or impart social attitudes violently inconsistent with social order. For, after all, social order, and not individual or group self-expression, must be the highest ultimate value of any social plan.

Individual or group self-expression in ways incompatible with social order is simply another term for social anarchy. This does not mean that different races, religions, and groups, may not be allowed to flourish and maintain certain group peculiarities, provided none of their peculiarities seriously jeopardize the social plan. To hear many liberals talk these days, one would suppose that the end of social organization was to make the world safe for minority self-expression. Certainly Christianity, when in political control, whether through the Roman Catholic Church or any one of the Protestant sects, has never followed this principle, nor did the when they were a nation.

To say that individual self-expression should be the major objective of the social plan, but that such expression must not infringe any of the rules of the social plan, is merely to say, in different words, the same thing fascism, or, for that matter, every other social order, has said in some form or other. The imperatives of social order always fix the limits of individual self-expression. And the imperatives of social order have always to be interpreted or made explicit by someone other than the person who violates them.

Whether a crowned king, a gowned judge or an executive committee, called by whatever name it may be, has the last word as to what the imperatives of social order demand in the way of limitation of individual self-expression, the facts remain that these imperatives always impose restrictions on human conduct, these imperatives are always interpreted by a few persons in power and not by every citizen for himself, and these imperatives are always interpreted and enforced

with a view to the realization of some given social scheme.

Liberal teaching constantly raises the question whether the individual may express himself contrary to the order imperatives of the social system, but liberal practice never allows that question to become a real issue. The individual under liberalism, as under every other system, is perfectly free to say and do what may be considered safe by those in power. The only real issue, so far as the concepts of freedom or the right to individual self-expression may be concerned, is one of fact rather than one of principle. It is always an issue how much latitude those in power can and do allow to individual conduct, or how large is the list of safe things to say and do. Contrary to the implications of liberal argument and propaganda, there is no issue between a system which allows what it considers unsafe utterances and acts, and a system which does not allow such utterances and acts. The issue or choice is always between the fact of one ruling class which has one field of safe utterances and acts, and the fact of another ruling class which has another field of safe utterances and acts.

The idea to stress at this time in the interests of larger tolerance or more freedom is that great differences in forms of self-expression are necessary to accommodate widely different human personalities. The case for tolerance is only good when grounded on the factual basis of the widely divergent requirements of different personalities-of personalities whose differences can never be eliminated by education, indoctrination, or any sort of conditioning. It is not necessary in the interests of public safety, and it is altogether bad from the point of view of efficient social mechanics, to try to force an intellectual whose taste runs to Unitarianism or some cult of modernist ethical teaching, and another person with a different make-up who finds an elaborate mass or an old-fashioned revival meeting best

suited to his spiritual needs, to accept a standardized religious service or to forego any religious service whatever. Nor is it necessary to force lovers of grand opera and jazz, or lovers of Proust and Elinor Glynn, to accept a standard form of dramatic musical or literary entertainment. It is necessary only to prevent the pulpit, the press, or any associational activity, from being used by leaders in ways to defeat the national plan.

To those who boast of the tolerance shown by liberal capitalism to minorities, to different religions or to divergent opinions, it has only to be recalled that we did not tolerate polygamy among the Mormons, and that we do not tolerate thousands of religious practices which are as old as history. Our liberal order tolerates many widely divergent teachings, it is true, but definitely draws the line against many teachings and public utterances. In war time, for instance, it does not tolerate appeals from the pulpit to men in uniform to obey the commandment "Thou shalt not kill." The reasons why utterances or actions dangerously subversive of public order are tolerated nowhere needs no explanation.

It remains to perfect formulas for the tolerance of safe differences of ways, safe preferences and safe expressions of opinion or criticism. And it is desirable, for reasons which the liberals have excelled at pointing out, to have the area of tolerance as broad and inclusive as possible. But there must be no nonsense about tolerance in an absolute or unlimited sense. Such nonsense will not help tolerance today. In times of war and revolution, those in authority often err grievously in exaggerating the requirements of safety. To correct these errors, it will not be found helpful to assert absolutes which are wholly untenable in honest discussion and impossible of application by a social order which aims to survive. It will rather be helpful to the enlargement of

tolerance to attempt to distinguish realistically between what is safe and what is unsafe, in a given situation, for the maintenance of a given set of values. It may be safe to allow a fundamental discussion of values which is critical of some of them, or an exposure of evils or mistakes, or the gibe of a vaudeville comedian or a popular cartoonist against the government. It may not be safe, however, to allow ministers of religion to incite to civil disobedience or nonconformity with state-dictated standards of conduct.

The right formula, or the ideal balance between repression and tolerance, can best be sought if the mind is freed of liberal norms, or impossible and nearly meaningless verbalisms, such as free speech, free press, freedom of conscience, and possibility rather than on juridical norms and judicial interpretation and enforcement.

For public safety has highly elastic requirements varying enormously according to the place, moment, total situation, and scheme of values, to be realized. Any charter of liberties becomes necessarily an absurdity after a few years, for no plan of public order and means to its realization can long, be appropriate to changing conditions. If the theory of verbal norms and judicial interpretation and application be followed, the fundamental law, or the highest social ideals or objectives, will soon be lost sight of in the development of a juridical science or static scheme of ideas and practices which will quickly try to free itself of the nuisances of reality and try to operate entirely within a closed realm of logic—a logic that assumes the realities it requires for its purposes and disregards any refractory realities of experience.

Only an executive can insure the widest measure of tolerance, and he can do this only if he has the widest power to adjust formulas to changing conditions. And, after all, what is safe for the maintenance of public order can only be

determined from day to day by a central authority charged with the responsibility of maintaining order. If the lovers of tolerance would only see that tolerance is not an absolute which the state can give or withhold in any quantity it sees fit, quite independently of imperatives of the ruling scheme of values, but that tolerance has always to be fitted into a workable and unique plan of social order, they would concern themselves more with the problems of choosing the plan and making it effective, and less with categorical demands for more tolerance.

The explicitness of government uses of force, and the noticeability of sudden change in the application of force for the achievement of new or different objectives, make state exercises of power, call them what you will, the subject of considerable misrepresentation and misconception where a new social system like communism or fascism is involved.

The more governed by political government a community is, the more recognizable will be the force factors, but not necessarily the more coercive. The reason, let it be emphasized, is not that human conduct is more subject to coercion or less free, in the aggregate or on the average, where there is more government or a new social scheme.

The reason is that, to whatever extent government purposively coerces to realize given social objectives, the coercion has to be explicit and vested with the personality which attaches to government (e.g. The State versus John Doe). Such coercion is more explicit than that of the pressures of impersonal and anonymous forces over which the individual can have little or no control, and of the operation of which he ordinarily has little understanding.

It may be said that the coercion most keenly felt is the most important or oppressive. To this it need only be answered that where the coercions of government, social custom, or economic necessity, are of long standing and

efficient application, the people subject to them are no more conscious of them than habitual motorists are conscious of frustration by traffic lights, or than habitual travellers in the subways and elevators are conscious of frustration in these unnatural and, often, extremely uncomfortable modes of transportation. Those who accept without conscious resentment the discomfort of crowded subways or elevators feel amply compensated by the superior speed and facility of transportation thus afforded them. They do not discuss subways or elevators in terms of claustrophobia, as many liberals discuss government in terms of liberty and constraint, or in terms wholly irrelevant to the points of paramount public interest in the thing discussed.

When the coercions of government or custom take a new turn, as a result of revolutionary change in social objectives, they naturally have the faults of newness, of a new shoe, for instance. To these faults are, of course, to be added those of inefficient and inexperienced application by new personnel in government. A small business or professional man in this country whose very livelihood had always depended on his most servile yessing of his economic dictators in the market, might well consider it an outrageous tyranny if a new set of superiors dictating new social imperatives were suddenly added, by the inauguration of a fascist regime, to those already in authority and power over him. If any one is here disposed to interpose the reminder that under the present system one is free to choose one's boss, one's customer, or one's banker, I can only take time to say in reply,

"Tell it to the unemployed and the farmers who are on the dole." One of the strongest arguing and operating points of liberal capitalism has always been the fact that its most vital and often its harshest coercions, those of economic necessity, under a given regime of property distribution and deprivation, legally enforced with the might of the State,

have been applied with impersonality, anonymity, and a large measure of irresponsibility. If a man loses his job, home, or business, through changes he could not control, he is supposed to have no one but himself to blame. For, although the acts of others in power, whether in government or big business, may have contributed largely or almost entirely to his misfortune, there is no one in power with any significant degree of responsibility for the consequences of his economic or political acts. So far as the running of business or finance is concerned, most people today are pretty well disposed to concede this point without argument. For there are few corporation or bank stockholders who are foolish enough to cherish the illusion that their property rights give them any real control over those who manage their property.

So far as the running of government is concerned, however, the delusion of 18th century theories of political democracy, plausible only in the days when the town meeting could be an important factor, still persist. Thus it may be said that the economic misfortunes of the United States were duly charged up to the Republican Party in the results of the elections of 1932. But, if one looks at all below the surface of political changes, one must see that the defeat of a political party or candidate can be called a punishment only in a highly qualified sense. It can never be said to amount to a real conviction of misconduct, negligence, or even bad judgment. In most cases, individuals pass out of political life for reasons wholly unconnected with any expression of public censure, however much their acts may be considered censurable or even censured by a majority vote at the polls. The way the system works, every important political and economic figure has a good alibi for public opinion, and a perfect immunity for legal purposes, so far as the consequences of his acts may be concerned.

Our attachment to the liberal principle of separation of powers, and our liberal hostility to coordination of authority and a permanent governing class, necessarily make for irresponsibility in the use of power-political or economic. It is only in the fields of specific offenses against the State, the person, and property, or fields chiefly covered by the criminal law and the laws of torts, that personal responsibility can, as a practical matter, be enforced to any significant extent. As for the responsibility which is supposed to be implicit in our electoral system, it is farcical, due to the way the system necessarily operates.

For example, a governor of a state may direct the militia and police, and the powers of his office, in ways to prevent labor from making an effective use of economic weapons like the strike and the picket, thus materially contributing to the imposition on thousands of£ mine or factory workers of an economic status more unfavorable than that which they might win if allowed by the governor a freer use of certain economic weapons at their command. He may also appoint members to a state public service regulation commission, a factory inspection service, or a bank superintendent, who will give the utilities, the manufacturers, and the bankers, regulation pretty much as they like it. This governor of the Tweedledum Party is finally beaten at the polls by the gubernatorial candidate of the Tweedledee Party, who, in the campaign, exploits the partiality of his rival the Tweedledum governor to the mine owners, factory owners, and employers generally.

Does this electoral result mean that any significant measure of political responsibility has been established thereby? Not in the least. The outgoing governor of the Tweedledum Party is not sent off to shiver in a petty governmental function in Alaska, or to sweat in a similar function in Panama or the Philippines. Oh, no; he goes back

to the practice of law, to cash in on the policies for which he has been punished by defeat. His punishment takes the form of increased professional income, all legitimately and honorably supplied him by the interests he so faithfully served while in office. And the incoming governor of the Tweedledee Party continues the same partiality to the same interests, for he, too, is a lawyer who has to think of making an honest living when, sooner or later, he has to go back to private life. He, therefore, uses his term in office to build up good will and friendships among those who can be his best paying clients when he leaves office. It is no meaningless coincidence that about seventy per cent of the men in Congress are lawyers. It is the calling which makes the political payoff easiest to give and to take with perfect legality and decorum. The law, however, is not the only calling in which the payoff is easy.

It is not strange that there are so few cases of technical graft in political office. judicially established. It is strange that there are so many, when the payment of graft in legal and conventionally proper ways is so easy. What makes it easy, primarily, is the simple fact that almost every official in office is constantly thinking of business or professional opportunities when he leaves office. Often, the official in office has interests which can be legally and properly helped while he is still in office. If one undertook to compile the concrete examples of what is being said somewhat generally in these paragraphs, one would be writing the case histories of tens of thousands of American political careers, including those of Presidents and chief justices of the Supreme Court, where the on-again, off-again, make-a-million-in-the-interval tradition has been duly established.

In making these obvious observations about our political customs, it is only fair to remark that nothing said here should be taken as expressing a personal censure of

American Presidents, Supreme Court justices, and public officials of all ranks, who have followed our good traditions. In England and other liberal countries, of course, it is a tradition that a judge may not return to the private practice of law. In those countries, civil service and public service traditions much closer to those of fascism or an authoritarian state have been developed. We, however, have been more faithful to the authentic liberal prepossessions against a governing class. We have carried liberalism in this respect to its logical extreme or a practical absurdity. But no one is to blame for doing what is both legal and good form.

Political responsibility of any significant sort is possible only under a system in which political officials, at least of the executive and judicial branches, with few exceptions, have only a public career open to them once they have put their hand to the plow. It is not punishment or censure to be beaten for a ten—or twenty-thousand-dollar-a-year public office, the expenses of which are much greater, to take up a hundred-thousand-dollar-a-year law practice or position as an official in a corporation, working for the interests one has favored while in office. And it is not to be expected that the average office-holder, while in office, can fail to be influenced in his official acts by consideration of what will be good for his future personal livelihood.

In this connection, it is also to be remarked that public opinion in this country tends to rank a man in his profession or business according to the amount of money he makes and leaves behind him. Under liberal capitalism, it may be said that for the vast majority of cases, the only real sense of responsibility which operates strongly on official conduct is that of behaving so that a good law practice, job, or money making proposition, will be waiting for the official-within the law and good usages-when he has to leave public office, as our traditions demand that he must do-with a few

exceptions in the cases of judgeship's for life.

Not only is irresponsibility a result of non-professional government, or rather government by men whose profession is making money at the law or something else, but corruption and incompetence are also inevitable concomitants of such a system. The bitter truth is that the majority of the American people feel definitely that government is a graft or a racket for most office holders, and rather admire the successful for getting away with as much as they can without getting caught. The system, by making certain types of corruption of public officials legal and proper, makes the corruption of mass standards of honesty inevitable.

The other result is that of an incompetence which is also inevitable if few public officials are allowed to acquire the experience and expertness which only a lifetime devotion to one profession can give. It is a deplorable blindness, and one of the products of liberal indoctrination, that the people believe that public interest can best be maintained by ever so often giving a new gang of ambitious lawyers a chance through public office to get experience, contacts, and good will, to enable them to get ahead later on.

The point, of course, of this lengthy and digressive discussion of a peculiar phase of American liberal government is that power over the destinies of the people is exercised under our system by individuals quite as much as under any so-called authoritarian system of national planning, but that the operation of our present system tends to make all exercises of power, whether economic or political, largely irresponsible. Fascist planning does not involve the introduction of force as a new principle, and quantitative measurements of coercion and freedom are impossible. Any new scheme of planning has to be pursued with the power of the state. It is essential to have these

general principles clearly understood, both by way of answering the liberal or conservative attack on fascism as a phenomenon of coercion, in contradistinction from liberal capitalism, a system of freedom, and by way of meeting the counter proposals of innumerable schools of socialists and liberal reformers who would solve our social problems without involving themselves with the problems of government and coercion.

When planning enters the realm of reality, it enters the realm of force and coercion. And this is seen in the cases of millions who are forced to suffer privation and humiliation under liberal capitalism, as well as in the cases of millions under the authoritarian systems who are forced to accept various impositions of the state plan. The idea that one social plan gives freedom while another imposes coercion is like the idea that the difference between a horse and a cow is that the one has a head while the other has a tail.

STATE ABSOLUTISM

THE STATE, THROUGH the instrumentalities of government, has to express and enforce the social plan which, for one country, has to be unique. We have already seen why the social plan for any one country has to be unique. This plan the State has to express and enforce through the instrumentalities of government. The methods by which the State does this may follow the liberal formula of the policeman State or the fascist formula of the executive State. In any event, the political power of the State has to be exercised in many matters without limitation if any type of social order is to be maintained. The point is that the power exercised by the totalitarian State in economic and social planning is no greater than the power of the State exercised in other ways under any other political system, or more simply still, that the social plan always requires exercises of the absolute power of the State.

The popular type of denunciation of fascism on the ground that it stands for State absolutism, or a State of unlimited powers, as contrasted with the liberal State of limited powers, is based on misrepresentation of the true nature of the liberal State. The issue between liberalism and fascism is not one of an absolute State versus a State of limited powers. The fact is that the powers of every State are in pure theory unlimited, except by physical impossibilities and by engagements the State chooses to respect in deference to the demands of certain class interests. The powers of the fascist State are unlimited as to doing certain things, while the powers of the liberal State are equally unlimited as to doing certain other things. The important differences between fascism and liberalism in this respect lie between those certain things which each State,

respectively, does without limitation, or those fields of State action in which the State is inhibited by no limiting constitutional or legal engagement not to do certain things.

Let us for a moment talk in terms of concrete examples to clarify this obvious point that State absolutism is not the issue but rather the specific applications to be made of the absolute power of the State or rather the specific interests to be favored in the unlimited uses of State power. Let us suppose that, under our liberal system, a United States marine in 1927 had applied to one of our courts praying some kind of court order restraining the President of the United States, as commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the United States, from sending this marine to kill Nicaraguans in order to carry out the pact which Mr. Stimson, personal representative of the President, made with General Moncada, a revolutionary leader at the head of an army in the field in June, 1927. This marine might have argued, with entire correctness as to fact, that the President's representative, Mr. Stimson, had no constitutional authority to make a pledge to General Moncada that the United States Government would disarm all the armed forces in Nicaragua and supervise the elections to be held over a year later in November, 1928. The marine might also have pointed out that the President of the United States is nowhere in the Constitution given power to use the armed forces of the United States to supervise elections in a foreign country, to disarm all its armed forces, and to kill all nationals of that country who might oppose with arms the presence of American troops on their territory, all without a formal declaration of war by the United States. Had the marine made any such petition to one of our liberal law courts, what would he have learned?

For one thing, he would have learned that our courts have no power to enjoin the President of the United States from

sending the armed forces of the United States anywhere in the world, or from ordering them to kill other people, or to commit any other act, however arbitrary or unreasonable it might seem to be. Let us suppose, again, that the wife, mother or other dependent of a marine killed in battle in Nicaragua had at tempted to prove a claim against the United States in the Court of Claims. This is not a far-fetched supposition, as over a hundred and twenty marines were killed in battle during our war on General Sandino. What would she have been told?

She would have been told that the United States Court of Claims had no jurisdiction to hear such a claim. The United States Government is wholly without legal responsibility to its own citizens for losses of life and damage to their property which any military adventure of the President with American troops may occasion abroad.

The power of the liberal State to cause its citizens to be killed either in official or unofficial warfare abroad, through exercises of the discretionary power of the President over our armed forces, is absolutely unlimited by law or the courts. But it is a bulwark of liberal liberty that the President's power to regulate commerce, or to do any one of a thousand executive acts in the public interest, must be inhibited by the Constitution or subject to judicial review for its reasonableness. The President has virtually no limitations on his power to get us into war, through the conduct of foreign relations or the command of the armed forces, except such checks as legislative action might impose through impeachment or a failure to vote necessary funds.

The features of the liberal system we are now discussing are fundamental. It is constantly forgotten that the quintessence of liberalism and liberal liberties under a constitution is the maintenance of a regime of special or exceptionally favorable considerations for private property.

Briefly, private property cannot be taken for public purposes, not even in war time, without an obligation to pay just compensation, while human life may be so taken without an obligation to pay any compensation. The liberal doctrine giving property a measure of protection and bargaining power against the State denied to human life may be said to have fully emerged as a political principle of good liberalism when Cromwell sent King Charles the First of England to the block and established the rule that the King, or the executive branch of the government, cannot take the money of the rich by means of direct levies but must first have the money for the King's wars voted by Parliament, which, as a practical matter, has meant financing wars by loans instead of capital levies. This doctrine, of course, goes under a different name from that of special privilege for property. Its most popular identifying formula is "No taxation without representation." Of course, few people ever pause to inquire "Representation of whom and of what?"

The right of private property to be treated by the State with greater consideration than human life in the matter of conscription for public purposes is the essence of liberalism. This right, once established, becomes not only incompatible with the demands of humanity but also with the requisites of strong nationalism. An interesting sidelight, showing the power of this doctrine as a political principle, is the fact that good liberals before 1914 constantly speculated about the possibility of financing the next big war. But no liberal ever imagined that a war would be impossible because the State would be unable to mobilize the necessary man-power. A human life has no right to deny itself to its country, or to bargain with the State for a fair price, or have appeal to a neutral judiciary to fix for it a fair bargain with the State, according to the same theories of equity which are so

extremely partial to property.

Before Cromwell's Revolution, the executive branch of the government represented by the Crown used to conduct foreign relations and make war much as it does today in all States. But the Crown, under the Stuarts, tried to collect money levies from the rich tradesmen with the same arbitrariness that it took the lives of the people for war. The 17th century English shopkeepers did not like that way of financing wars. They did not mind how many wars the Crown fought. On the contrary, they were usually favorable to, or eager for, the Crown's wars, on which they made so much money. Nor did the rich merchants at all mind putting up all the money required for the wars of the Crown on the condition that they got government obligations in return for their war contributions.

The proof that the foregoing statements about democratic government and war are substantially true is found in the facts that neither the British nor the American national legislature has ever refused to vote a declaration of war on the recommendation of the chief executive, to vote all the money the chief executive has asked for, to vote compulsory levies of all the men the executive has demanded, or to support the executive in the continuance of the war as long as the executive saw fit to wage it. But not once, in the long history of British and American liberal capitalism or democracy, has a national legislature voted a levy on capital, though it has repeatedly voted the conscription of men of fighting age.

Several counter arguments to what has just been said about the partiality of liberalism to property may be advanced. For one thing, it may be said that the liberties shown to be taken by the executive branch of the government with the lives of citizens are taken only as measures deemed necessary for national defense in an

emergency like war. For another thing, it may be said that the liberal State is not constitutionally inhibited from taking property by taxation. (Taking property by right of eminent domain does not furnish any rebuttal to the point of this chapter, for property so taken must be paid for.) And then it may be said that the property and labor of the poorest citizen enjoys the same protection from taking without due compensation.

It would seem almost enough to demolish these arguments to point out that the liberal democracies have not drafted wealth when they have drafted man power; that the poor have no money worth mentioning to enjoy the protection of liberal law; and that the bargaining power of labor is by no means comparable with the bargaining power of capital under the liberal regime. It is one of the sharpest tricks of liberal dialectics to exploit the fact that legally a measure of protection is enjoyed equally by the rich and the poor, or by capital and labor. The fact, of course, always is that for large numbers of cases equal protection of the law for property can only mean equal justice for all the people where property is fairly evenly distributed. Liberal equality before the law means, as a practical matter, that any two fortunes of a million dollars are approximately equal before the law.

The immunity of property from taking without just compensation is, of course, enjoyed in a legal sense quite as much by the man who has no money the State could take as by the man who has a million the State could take. Obviously, the protection of this immunity avails only to those who have enough money to be taken by the State, and whose money, as a practical matter, is taken, but in exchange for government bonds instead of the sort of compensation a conscript receives. Stripped of liberal verbiage of the law, and stated in terms of larger social

results, the immunity liberalism gives to property but not to human life from taking by the State without just compensation, means that long wars result in a greater concentration of ownership of wealth, as a result of war financing by borrowing from the rich, whereas long wars would result in a drastic equalization of wealth if the funds needed were taken by levy from the, only sources from which they can be taken.

It is one of the great propaganda and indoctrination achievements of the London shopkeepers and the Manchester mill owners, as well as of their American cousins, that it has been possible over a couple centuries of Anglo-Saxon liberal democracy to generalize the belief that the liberties of the people depend on the maintenance of liberal principles which operate to exempt wealth from sharing with personal service the burdens of the liberal state. It is amusing to see how poor devils who will never own anything that the State would find it worthwhile commandeering except their ability to serve as cannon fodder will support a Constitution which protects capital from mobilization and social direction by the State except under conditions of profiteering by the capitalists. These poor devils do not realize that there is no clause in the Constitution which they, in their troubles, can ever invoke to check government impingement. on their lives or to obtain government relief. When they turn to the Government, it is for a charity hand-out for which they can invoke no right granted them by the Constitution. Under the Constitution and under liberalism, there is a right not to have one's property taken without just compensation—i.e., compensation the courts approve of—but there is no such right for one's life, nor is there a right not to starve for want of work and lack of the instruments or facilities of production.

Indeed, what the Constitution protects is not the right of the hungry to eat but the right of the rich to keep what they have and to eat while the poor starve. Nothing augurs so impressively the end of liberalism today as the changing temper of those on relief who are coming more and more to feel and assert a vested right to be cared for by the State. To the extent the State is being forced by the demands of public order to grant relief-still on the theory of an emergency-it is creating a vested interest or a de facto right which the Constitution does not recognize and a right which a new social order must recognize.

Never was the social theory of liberalism more clearly or instructively clarified than in the Louisville Federal Housing Project decision, in which the Court held that the Federal Government is without constitutional authority to condemn private property by the right of eminent domain for slum clearance, low cost housing, or work-making projects, for such purposes are, in the opinion of the Court—i.e., the Constitution of the United States—"not public purposes."

Ours is supposedly a government of delegated powers. The Federal Constitution nowhere delegates to the Federal Government the power to take property through condemnation proceedings in exercise of the right of eminent domain. But, in the opinion of the court—i. e., the Constitution of the United States-the Federal Government, by virtue of the fact that it is a national government, must have such power. The Federal Government may exercise this power inherent in government only in accordance with the social theory of the Court—i.e., the Constitution. In the social theory of the Court, government can properly take property through condemnation proceedings for an arsenal-but not for slum clearance or low cost housing.

'In the theory of the Court—i. e. the "Constitution"—the one is a public purpose and the other is not.'

So forth, and if an attempt is made quite simply to determine the minimum of governmental repression compatible with safety for a given plan in a given situation. This formula will have to rely mainly on executive judgment and res It is the same bias of 17th, 18th and 19th century liberalism, namely, that of seeking to limit the unlimited powers of the State in ways suitable to certain supposed property interests, and of making the courts the exponents of those peculiar limitations on political sovereignty. In so far as these limitations on political sovereignty have significance or effectiveness, whether in the Dred Scott decision, the Income Tax Decision, the leading child labor decisions, or a long line of decisions abridging the power of the State to modify property rights in the national interest, they almost always show the same bias.

The time has come when the limitations imposed by liberal theory on the sovereignty of the national State in respect of property rights, wealth, and economic activities generally, are no longer to be considered by a hard-thinking man of property as calculated to protect his interests in the long run. The day has come when property'-must no longer assert any immunity from government taking and government commanding which a poor man cannot assert for his life or labor in war time when drafted for national defense. Fascism insists that property or capital and private economic enterprise must be called to the colors as well as conscripts in time of war. And fascism insists that the term of service for both capital and labor is not for an emergency but a new and permanent scheme of social organization and operation. Fascism insists that the new social adventure cannot be conducted on the good liberal principle of having the State always buy the cooperation of the owners and managers of property, as well as of the workers, by paying

the price which any economic factor is able to hold out for, in a bargain in which there is great inequality of bargaining power as between different individuals and groups.

The argument of this chapter has been that what is commonly thought of as more power over private property for the State does not mean any greater State absolutism than we have already, or, indeed, any new power over private property. It means new techniques, theories and methods in the application of State power and, also, the application of State power for the service of different interests and for the pursuit of different social objectives. In pure theory, or in concrete fact, fascism or any other political system, cannot be said to create new powers for the State or to give it powers it did not already possess. Fascism merely means that the State announces and adheres to the purpose of using the powers inherent in national sovereignty, or in the monopoly of force held by all government, to meet new needs and desires in new ways.

PLANNING: A PROBLEM IN VALUE CHOICES

IT IS HOPED that the discussion of the preceding eight chapters leaves the larger question of the workability of the liberal capitalist system as well answered in the negative as it can reasonably be expected that such a question could be answered in a few chapters and in advance of the only conclusive verdict, that of history. After all, the unworkability of he present system is only a premise or a hypothesis which, in the light of current events, seems to have strong probabilities of being proved entirely correct by future events. It is a necessary premise for the building of a successor system, without which we shall be badly off if, and as, the proofs of the unworkability of liberal capitalism continue to accumulate.

Assuming, then, as proved sufficiently for our purpose, the proposition that liberal capitalism is unworkable, or that it no longer meets satisfactorily the imperatives of public order in the present situation, What are the order imperatives to be met by a successor system? and, What are the probable choices in the development of a successor system? No one idea or principle can be called central or paramount in any enterprise as vast as that of erecting a new civilization on the ruins of an old one. But, for the purpose of making a quick intellectual approach to this enterprise, as a present day undertaking, no word could carry the mind farther than that of planning.

Social planning is the outstanding imperative of public order and material abundance in the present day and in the near future. Of course, nothing makes it certain that the world will enjoy order and abundance in the coming era. Wells and Spengler see chaos ahead. Fascism sees no

inevitable millennium but merely says, "Given existing conditions in the leading capitalist countries, here is a formula for order and abundance which can be made to work and which most people can be made to like."

As for the questions, "What is fascist planning?" or "What is the fascist plan?" it must be answered that whatever fascism, or the modern executive state, becomes and does, in any given country and period, results from a combination of the requirements for successful management of the productive and cultural factors, from the ideal of a social scheme cherished by the leaders of the discontented elite who seize political power and, of course, from the play of the innumerable and complex factors of the world situation. This is why one cannot express the fascist scheme in the language either of liberalism, or communism, or any other system based on the assumption that it possesses a monopoly of absolute truth.

The liberal scheme rests on the ideology of supposedly eternal and absolute truths. These truths are but verbalisms, like equality before the law, freedom of contract, democratic self-government, fair competition, just compensation, and so on. They sound impressive to the masses, who cannot possibly explain what these verbalisms mean in terms which harmonize the official definitions with the definitions furnished by daily experience.

The fascist scheme of things is an expression of human will which creates its own truths and values from day to day to suit its changing purposes. The logic of liberalism is that of organizing and conducting society according to revelation. Before the French Revolution and the conquest of English puritan liberalism by late 18th century Continental rationalism, truth was supposed to be revealed by God. Since Rousseau and Tom Paine, truth has been supposed to be revealed by reason. Whereas the medium of God was

one's conscience if one was a Protestant, and God's vicar on earth if one was a Roman Catholic, the medium of reason in the American liberal commonwealth has been supposed to be the courts. Like the priests of the ancient cults who were ready to say, what God or the oracle revealed, the American courts are supposed to be ready to say what the Constitution and reason reveal through them to the human mind at large. If five of the nine judges agree on the revelation, that makes it binding.

Fascism, on the other hand, starts out from a situation of fact and a human will to do something about it, whether to alter it or to preserve it. As a triumphant force, fascism is essentially an expression of the human will reacting to the changing situations of life in the eternal struggle for existence. Like all forces which are revolutionary in their beginning, it starts out as an expression of the human will to change a given situation to some other desired pattern. Truth, right, justice, and reason are whatever serves the fulfillment of this purpose.

It may be said that the fascist plan is what the people want or what the leaders want. But it must be said that fascist planning is the way to get it. Fascism triumphs because it is, among other things, a formula of fulfillment, which people are happy to turn to from the liberal formulas of defeat, frustration, and inhibition both of governmental and private initiatives-in the fast crystallizing post-War situation. Liberalism today means millions of individuals who cannot do anything about some of their most vital personal problems, such as finding work and a place in the scheme of things—they can no longer go west or migrate-and governments which, because of legal and customary inhibitions, cannot do anything adequate about these great social maladjustments. Fascism may do the wrong things but it is not inhibited from doing anything. The chief plank in

the social or political platform of most of the conservatives today can be summed up in the one word inhibition—inhibition of government, inhibition of the underprivileged, inhibition of anything in the nature of a vital plan of a nation.

To talk fascism, communism, or 19th century liberalism, of course, is to talk a different language in each case. For that reason many people will have difficulty in understanding this book, which does not reason from many customary assumptions. It is written in the sanguine hope that a few people will be able to understand the language of a system of concepts and purposes which, though different from that of their early mental formation, is not in conflict with their fundamental interests. The usual tendency of the mind in this respect is to try to reduce the content of another ideological system, like liberalism, fascism or communism, to the language of one's own system. When this tendency is not successfully repressed, the values of one system get transmuted, by the processes of translation into another language, from virtues to vices, from nationalities to monstrosities.

Thus, in the language of communism, a small storekeeper, or a farmer hiring a few helpers and working twelve or fourteen hours a day to make a pitiful living and raise a family, is a dirty bourgeois or capitalist oppressor. And, of course, the liberal prints these days are full of choice and violent epithets for things and personalities fascist or communist. What fascists regard as an ennobling love of country, translated into the liberal language becomes mass hysteria. What fascists cherish as social discipline, translated into the liberal language becomes tyranny—and so it goes.

Two simple but profound and fundamental notions are essential to any understanding of planning, or fascism, or communism, as well as to the formulation of any new social

system. The first notion is that any social system represents a given scheme or hierarchy of ultimate values, or group and personal objectives, the upholding of which is one of the chief duties of man, the State, and social institutions generally. The second notion is that these ultimate values cannot be validated by the processes of logic or by reason. These two notions are especially important in connection with planning, because the important choices to be made lie mostly in the field of ultimate values, or of ends rather than means.

Contrary to much of the current misrepresentation both of fascism and communism, there is, in the matter of techniques or the choice of means, little difference between liberalism, fascism, and communism. This is true because similar tasks, when undertaken in similar situations and against similar obstacles, are pursued under liberalism, fascism, or communism with similar means, techniques, or policies.

The liberal states in time of peace are free of many of the repressive measures of fascism and communism. But, in time of war, they use quite similar measures, and fascist and communist revolutions are distinctly war phases, just as the English, American and French Revolutions were war phases of an emerging liberalism. The liberal revolutions are over—so is liberalism: Cromwell's no longer behead kings and sack Dublin, and the guillotine is no longer working out on the public squares of Paris the liberal ideals of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. The fascist and communist revolutions, however, are still in course, which does make a difference.

It will be found that the techniques of an American, Russian, Italian or German steel-mill foreman, bridge builder, machine-gun company commander, or army air-bomber will vary intentionally very little where the task is similar. These differences, more imaginary than real, are

quite like the differences between German and other brands of militarism during the War. The one differs from the other chiefly in that the one is a little more or less efficient. Before the American army went into the trenches in 1917, our officers attended British and French schools in trench warfare, gas warfare, tank warfare and bayonet drill. It never occurred to any sane American to suggest that we show the Germans good American fighting methods of the days of George Washington, Andrew Jackson, or Grant and Lee. The fact that we may have to follow in the present crisis certain European precedents in economic planning, just as we followed European experience in loth century warfare, will merely indicate that certain European nations got into the economic crisis ahead of us, just as they got into the late World War before us.

Today one may almost say that there are no peculiarly American or European methods of social or political management. There are just good and bad methods, or apt and inept methods, or modern and obsolete methods. There is nothing in the American tradition to warrant the conclusion that, in meeting the challenge of new conditions, the American way is inept instead of apt, or obsolete instead of modern. In the social or political field we have some vigorous defenders of the obsolete against the up-to-date, but, influential as many of these defenders are, they will have a hard time proving by events that good Americanism consists in being behind the times. America cannot forever remain 17th and 18th century in its law, and political and social theory and practice, while moving in the vanguard of 20th century technological progress. The defenders of 18th century Americanism are doomed to become the laughing stock of their own countrymen. Americans are no more given to conservatism, backwardness, or timidity than any other people, but rather, less, if anything.

What differentiates different social systems, most of which are trying to make the most efficient use of the same machinery and techniques in the maintenance of some scheme of social order, is differences in values, or objectives, or tasks undertaken, with, of course, some differences due to different specific situations, or difficulties to be overcome, in the pursuit of given sets of objectives. There are no real disbelievers in planning—certainly not Mr. Hoover or Mr. Mellon. There are only disbelievers in certain plans and planning by the other fellow.

We have a wide range of values or objectives for national planning from which to make choices. As for techniques or instruments, we are unlimited as to their use except by the indications of suitability to the end. We have less to gain from a study of European precedents in planning than from analysis of our own problems. A discussion of planning for America must assume a set of values, and explore the possibilities of their realization and the possible means to this end. If, in this discussion, it be assumed that one of our values should be a type of racism which excludes certain races from citizenship, then the plan of execution should provide for the annihilation, deportation, or sterilization of the excluded races. If, on the contrary, as I devoutly hope will be the case, the scheme of values will include that of a national citizenship in which race will be no qualifying or disqualifying condition, then the plan of realization must, in so far as race relations are concerned, provide for assimilation or accommodation of race differences within the scheme of smoothly running society.

It cannot be stressed too much that in the field of choices of ultimate values or objectives lie the issues most to be studied, clarified and debated. I have said that ultimate values cannot be validated or proved good or desirable, or the opposite, by the processes of logic. I am often asked why

I try to talk or write rationally about ultimate values if they cannot be validated or proved good or bad by reason. My answer is an easy and adequate one to make: Rational statement, analysis, clarification, and comparison of values are useful for two reasons: First, values are realized, made to triumph, or enforced, through the instrumentality of reason. That is, if you know what you want, reason will help you to get it if it can be had. And, second, values can be clarified and compared only by the processes of reason. What many people, trained in 18th century rationalism, cannot understand, is that there is a difference between the rational clarification, comparison and implementation of a scheme of values, and the rational demonstration that that scheme is good or bad.

In connection with the problems of planning, it is important to dispose of the popular notion that social planning is purely an engineering or technical feat which will be ideally performed by experts, if supplied adequately with facts by fact-finding agencies, and with funds by the taxpayers, or by some endowed foundation. This notion of 18th century rationalism not only assumes that reason is normative instead of being merely instrumental, or the tool of the will and of our emotional drives; but it also regards facts as ascertainable absolutes or truths. Such notions about the nature and function of reason are among the prepossessions of formal logic. The logician is supposed to wait for the scientist to bring him, done up in neat bundles, the facts for his premises. The logician then pours the facts into his little machine and turns the crank, whereupon truth and error, justice and injustice, right and wrong, come out the other end duly separated and graded like different grades of milk and cream issuing from a cream separator. This notion is one of the basic assumptions made by American jurisprudence as to the function of the courts. It

also underlies the logical structures of most of the liberal social sciences.

As the scientist well knows, facts have to be selected according to purposes, or preconceived theories and intuitions, or hunches, or, more definitely, according to the conclusion or verdict which it is desired to reach, or according to the hypothesis it is desired to build up. The greatest scientists recognize that there can be no scientific observation without a previous theory or intuition. Furthermore, as we have already seen, facts are merely the ways in. which things experienced or observed appear to different persons. And facts have a charming way of nearly always seeming as they should seem in order to prove some given preconceived theory or conclusion.

Then, too, there is the great limiting consideration that, even if several observers see the same data alike, or agree as to what the facts are, and if they are indifferent as to the conclusion (as natural scientists ordinarily are and as social scientists ordinarily arc not) it always remains true that no group of observers can ever observe everything or get all the facts about any matter.

Contrary to the charges of many critics (See Bertrand Russell's article on "The Revolt Against Reason" in Harper's Magazine, February, 1935), fascism is not anti-intellectual or antirational. On the contrary, it uses observed fact and logical deduction quite as well as liberalism. Fascism, however, unlike liberalism, does not regard the processes of reason as a game which one must suppose to be played in a certain way and which one must play in a different way. The fascist recognizes that when the fact finders have dumped a series of facts about a given matter into the hopper of a law court, a theorist, or an administrative expert, they have merely supplied a limited number of observations selected with some purpose in mind other than

that of pure truth-assuming there is such a thing.

Besides, the fascist does not assume that the truth, all the truth, and nothing but the truth, can ever be known about anything. The will that dictates the purpose in the gathering and submission of facts, and in the logical use made of them, must also, grosso modo, determine the conclusion, verdict or result. Thus we see, in communist Russia, that there is one law for the member of the communist party and another law for the capitalist, just as, in capitalist America, there is one justice for the rich and another for the poor in the vast majority of situations in which law is an important factor. Legal advice how to get around the law, or due process of law to beat the law, is to be bought. The more a man can spend on the law and its due process, the less difficulty it will cause him, and the more he can get away with. The social plan expresses the will and purposes of the dominant classes and not the indications of absolutes or abstractions called by names like reason and justice. In a later chapter we shall explore further the power aspects of the social plan.

Reason is useful as a means to an end, and as a selector or clarifier of ends about which one is not clear. Thus, if a man demonstrates to me that he clearly understands a given value or scheme of values which he cherishes, and that he understands all the implications or consequences of that value or scheme of values which I am able to point out to him, and that he still clings to it and is prepared to pay the full price of its pursuit, I, as a rational person, must recognize that there is nothing further I can reasonably say to him to change his mind and purpose in this respect. If I am wholly rational, and not an irrational addict of a certain cult of rationalism, I will further recognize that he may be quite as rational as I in choosing and pursuing a diametrically opposite set of objectives from my own. Nothing raises more doubt of the rationality of liberal

rationalists today than the frequency with which they apply terms like mad, insane, and crazy, to persons and things they dislike.

Had I been living in 15th century Spain, with my present religious views, I should have understood the futility of any appeal to reason to dissuade the heads of the Inquisition from their enterprises of religious persecution or purification of Spain of heresy. Their rational capacity was quite as good as mine, and their understanding of the implications and consequences of religious persecution was quite as complete as mine. But their premises and emotional attitudes differed from mine. If they felt that those unpleasant things they did had to be done, or those heavy prices they made Spain pay had to be paid, to save their souls and the souls of most of their compatriots, and that saving souls as they understood it was the most important thing in life (as undoubtedly they felt with all sincerity and deep intensity), what could be said to them in the name of reason to alter their conviction? Obviously, nothing. A really rational mind will size up such a situation as presenting, broadly stated, four possibilities:

(1) Become a convert;
(2) be a martyr;
(3) fight and win;
(4) fight and lose.

If the decision be to fight, the reason will be found useful as an instrument. If the decision be for conversion or martyrdom, the reason may be found somewhat of a nuisance, though converts and martyrs usually have their reason well under control. The decision will, in any event, be determined by emotional attitudes and impulses rather than the reason. What is most needed today in the

discussion of a plan for America is rational clarification of values or social objectives. Many people who think they cherish a value can be made to repudiate and abhor it completely by being made, through the processes of reason, to see its implications. What most people cherish, after all, is a set of verbalisms, some of which, of course, stand for values they would die for, but most of which are just meaningless symbols to which their emotional responses have been conditioned to react in certain ways, but which their understanding never even attempts to grasp. Thus, if a man says that he is ready to shed the last drop of American blood, including his own, to uphold a decision of the League of Nations, or the World Court, or to maintain the present status quo in Europe, or to keep the Japanese out of the Philippines, I realize that I have nothing to say to him on these questions. If, however, as is most often the case, he is just a muddle-headed believer in international justice and cooperation, or the white man's burden, who has never grasped the consequences of any serious espousal of a cause flying one of these verbal banners, then he is open to an appeal to reason. It is possible to make him reject his value not by rational invalidation but by rational clarification of the value. But some people know what they want and still want it—a fact which many liberals have difficulty in understanding.

What makes so many people tiresome as well as mischievous in the discussion of issues of values is their persistence in attempting to argue on premises the other fellow does not and will not accept. That is their notion of an appeal to reason. Because fascists reject that sort of appeal to reason, they are often accused of being anti-rational or anti-intellectual.

Now, a conflict between two nations, or two economic groups, or two persons, can often be averted by making one

or both parties see clearly the implications or consequences of maintaining his position. But conflict is rather hastened than averted by one or both parties trying to make the other accept his values or his premises by an appeal to reason. Using reason to clarify momentous social values and their consequences finally brings the choice of alternatives down to one of fight or make concessions. The attempt to evade this final issue by making the other fellow see that God, reason, justice, right, or whatever else the word invoked may be, is on one's side, never averts the fight but rather exasperates the other fellow, and makes him all the more eager to fight. In the discussion of values or social objectives, it is useful to be clear as to what one wants and what the other fellow wants, and also to find out at that point either party will fight. Taking this view of the issue will usually produce more concessions on both sides than a futile appeal to justice or reason to support one's scheme of values. Certainly, the American Civil War could have been averted had both sides talked constantly in terms of fight or concede.

Both sides could have made enough concessions to make fighting unnecessary. But neither side could convince the other that it had God, the Constitution, justice, right, or reason on its side. In the coming clash between the haves and the have-nots, or between the embattled bondholders and the frustrated elite of the lower middle classes, a new formula on the basis of mutual concessions is possible. But the appeal by either side to the Constitution, justice, right, reason, or Americanism is not going to avert what must be an irrepressible conflict if neither side is prepared to make concessions. In this issue, obviously, most of the concessions will have to be made by the haves. But they should be reminded that in life and-death conflicts of interest and principle the final choices are always concessions or throat-

cutting. And, before they say their last word against making concessions, they should measure carefully their probable chances in the long run, if conflicts of economic interests finally come to an issue of arms.

* * *

The point, of course, of this lengthy and digressive discussion of a peculiar phase of the American liberal is—

"When planning enters the realm of reality, it enters the realm of force and coercion. And this is seen in the cases of millions who are forced to suffer privation and humiliation under liberal capitalism, as well as in the cases of millions under the authoritarian systems who are forced to accept various impositions of the state plan. The idea that one social plan gives freedom while another imposes coercion is like the idea that the difference between a horse and a cow is that the one has a head while the other has a tail."

THE NATIONAL PLAN: AN EXPRESSION OF THE POPULAR WILL

AFTER READING WHAT has been said in the preceding chapters about the national plan being an expression of the might of the people, most exponents of the liberal philosophy will doubtless be inclined to advance many of the old arguments about a written Constitution and written laws, duly interpreted by the Courts, being the expression, and the only satisfactory form of expression, of the will and might of the people.

Fascism holds that the national plan or social scheme is always an expression of the might of the people, and that this expression must be made explicit and effective through interpretation and administration by those in power. Fascism finds absurd and untrue the liberal thesis that the will of the people is expressed in the written word of a Constitution or body of laws. In so far as a written document is instrumental in expressing the will of the people, it is through interpretation and enforcement of such a document. In other words, they who interpret and enforce a law and not the written law, give the expression of the will of the people.

It is a beguiling myth of liberalism that people can be governed by laws and not by men. It is a charming illusion that we can provide a machinery of government which is free of the faults of human personality and which is the very embodiment of moral absolutes and social wisdom. This illusion relies chiefly on the further illusion that, whereas the members of legislative and administrative councils, and particularly chief executives, are persons affected with all

the weaknesses which persons are heirs to, judges are not persons, but the court, in reference to their official acts. Obviously, a judge is as much a person as anyone else. A person can never function except as a person.

The trouble with any theory of impersonal government, or government by laws and principles rather than by men, is that it attributes to written documents, or statements of principle and purpose, qualities which the written word can never possess and with which only human beings can be endowed. A man, or a group of men who are in agreement with each other, in response to any question as to what is the will of the people, can easily give at any time an answer that is explicit and intelligible. They may also give an answer which they are in a position to enforce. Whether such answer always expresses the true will of the people, or is a wise or good answer, are open questions to be decided according to the facts of the case and the point of view from which judged. But there can be no question that an ordinarily well-endowed individual executive or executive group can say intelligibly what he or they hold to be the will of the people on any given problem. The written word, on the other hand, can never possess this quality, which is obviously peculiar to human personality. The written word can never be made to fit all possible cases which will arise, and the written word always requires interpretation and application to the given case by a person.

Disregarding for the moment the whole question of interpretation and application, an assuming agreement by all parties as to the meaning of a document, one may say that a written constitution or law can never express, the will of the people beyond an extremely limited field of reference. The limitations on the field of reference are those of time, place, and situation. With changes in time and conditions, laws very soon need rewriting.

It is absurd to suppose that when the makers of the Constitution drafted that document they meant to say that it was the will of the American people that the Public Service Commission, of the State of Maryland, or Arkansas, might not fix a rate for a public utility which allowed less than a seven per cent return, or that one theory of rate making instead of another was just and non-confiscatory. The makers of the Constitution had no knowledge of the present field of application of the principles they sought to express.

Indeed, on careful thought, it must seem sheer nonsense to say that the makers of the American Constitution willed any one of hundreds of constitutional interpretations rendered by the courts as expressions of the sovereign will of the people. It is not possible for any group of men either to express the will of the people living at the time in respect of problems arising a hundred years later, or to express the will of the people living a hundred years later as to the problems of that later period. The law can express only the will of the people with regard to current problems which are the subjects of contemporary thought and feeling. And whenever a question or uncertainty arises as to the will of the people as expressed in any law, only the responsible executive or legislative authority holding the mandate of the people can reasonably be assumed to have competence to say what the people now will. Certain it is that the present will of the people in respect to the application of an existing law to a current problem cannot, except by luck, be arrived at through the processes of legal ratiocination.

The processes of legal logic expressly disclaim, and methodically eschew, any undertaking to render a constitutional or legal interpretation to express the present opinion or will of the people, though, as Mr. Dooley remarked, the Supreme Court may sometimes, departing from the legal rules of interpretation, follow the election

returns.

The processes of legal interpretation specifically undertake to render an interpretation or application of the Constitution or the law in accord with some theory held by the judges as to what the men who wrote the Constitution or the law would have meant in respect of the issue submitted had they had cognizance of that issue. The courts do not attempt to express the present will of the people, for they admit that they have no means of knowing it, but they try rather to express their theory of the will of dead people in respect of a present living issue. They, of course, assume that their theory of the will of dead people in respect to a current problem submitted is also the will of the living people. It was the hope of many, if not of most, of the framers of the American Constitution, and of the subsequent builders of the American constitutional system during the first half of the 19th century, that separation of powers and the judicial veto would effectively curb expression of the popular will in ways disagreeable to the propertied classes.

It is the fact that the written word can have meaning only through interpretation and application, which establishes most conclusively the point that the popular will, or the ruling social purposes of the people in respect of the national plan, must be expressed from day to day to meet changes both in the popular will and in the conditions about which it has to make decisions. The oath to uphold the Constitution really amounts to nothing more or less than an oath to uphold what the courts may pronounce the Constitution to be. A rational oath of allegiance or of office must be an engagement to uphold the sovereign will or might of the people as made explicit by a duly authorized leader or representative of the people. A person can intelligently swear to obey and uphold the commands of a king or a supreme council or leader. But one cannot

intelligently pledge one's self to uphold a document which one is incompetent to interpret, a Court interpretation of which one cannot obtain to settle a given doubt, and all the thousands of court interpretations of which no finite mind-not even that of a Philadelphia lawyer-can possibly encompass.

Let us consider briefly the nature of the absurdity of an oath to uphold the Constitution. As a practical matter, what does the oath mean? In the case of the executive officials, other than governors of states and the President of the United States, it merely means that the office-holder will obey the orders of his superior and abide by any court orders which may be addressed to him. If the office-holder is a judge, the oath means that he will try to follow the constitutional interpretations of the higher courts where they seem applicable and, where no such precedents are available, that he will guess at the correct interpretation of the Constitution as best he can, his guess being subject to subsequent revision by a higher judge. If the office holder is a legislator, the oath to uphold the Constitution means that he ought not to vote for a measure he considers unconstitutional, but that he has no means of knowing whether a measure he is asked to vote on is constitutional or not unless and until the measure has been enacted and challenged before the courts.

The essential fallacy of the constitutional oath, or any system which makes judicial interpretation of the Constitution the supreme definition of the popular will, is that although everyone, including particularly government officials charged with law enforcement, is supposed to know the law, no one can know what the Constitution means with regard to a specific act until the courts have passed on that act. The constitutional oath is a pledge to uphold a court's interpretation of the Constitution before the interpretation

has been given, and before anyone can possibly know what the interpretation will be.

Now the favorite argument of liberal jurists is that a system of constitutional law and judicial interpretation of the law affords a degree of certainty which is not enjoyable under any system of what these jurists like to call personal government. The very reverse, of course, is the case. Certainty as to the law or the will of the people in reference to every problem of great moment is obviously desirable. But the liberal constitutional system is the worst imaginable way of giving certainty as to what is the will of the people. The argument of certainty is knocked into a cocked hat by the fact that whenever there is a constitutional or legal question of great importance before the courts, the best lawyers are usually as divided as to the tenor of the final decision as the laymen, or as are the players at a roulette wheel as to whether the next number will be red or black, or as are the bettors on the result of a prize fight. Whenever the case is sufficiently uncertain to cause large sums of money to be spent on both sides, the most scientific and economic way in which to select the final decision as to whether a given law or governmental act is constitutional or not is to flip a coin.

Trial by battle is one of the most essential features of the theory of Anglo-Saxon and liberal jurisprudence. The underlying assumptions are that there is such a thing as an absolute right and wrong to everything, and that if both parties to any dispute select a champion to wage a battle, the champion of that side which is right will win the encounter. The champion used to be a knight in arms. Now he is a lawyer. The pursuit of this will-o'-the-wisp of absolute justice or right is made into a sporting event exactly like a prize fight.

Now it is of the very nature of sporting events that one

can never get scientific advice as to their outcome when, as is ordinarily the case in such events, the opponents are fairly evenly matched. One can get scientific advice as to whether a given structure or machine will stand certain strains, meet certain tests, or perform in certain ways. Rarely is that advice proved wrong by experience. Skyscrapers don't fall down. John W. Davis, ranking constitutional lawyer in private practice, in ten years has won seventeen and lost fifteen decisions challenging the constitutionality of a law. James M. Beck, another eminent, self-constituted exponent and guardian of the Constitution, lost eight out of ten constitutionality bouts. It would be *lese-majeste* to give Chief Justice Hughes' record in private practice before the tribunal from which he took a ten year leave of absence. The N.I.R.A. episode is the latest example of certainty under liberal constitutional law.

One can hire a prize fighter or a lawyer to wage a battle for one, and one can be quite certain that the professional will put up a better fight than the amateur, and that the more skillful the professional fighter, the better the fight he will put up and the better will be his chances of winning. But one cannot possibly derive any certainty either as to the result of any given legal bout, or as to the realization of any given absolute norm of justice, assuming that the definition of such a norm could be the subject of general agreement. The chief certainty of the liberal system of law is that the popular will be expressed with a greater bias to private property and things as they are than to national interests and social change.

The theory of pursuing absolutes like justice, fair competition, equality, and so on, by means of trial by battle is obviously incompatible with any rational theory of national planning. Whatever methods rational planning may employ, it is fairly certain that it cannot find much use for a

sporting event as a means of selecting social policies or decisions expressive of the public will. The sporting theory of administering justice is simply unscientific. It is not a means to any rational end of social action. Its vogue under liberalism probably is due mainly to two considerations: First, making right superior to, and independent of, might as a theoretical premise, and then conducting a legal battle to settle any arguments as to what is right, though logically most contradictory, will serve admirably the purpose of easing Christian consciences as to the predatory features of the economic struggle under liberal capitalism. The successful in the acquisitive struggle can exculpate themselves of all wrongdoing or abusive uses of force and violence if they can say that they have kept within the law. Moreover, they can make the State, through the exercise of the police powers, do most of their fighting for them. The legal rules can be made to allow, and even instrument, the pressures which the economically mighty wish to use, and to bar the pressures which the economically mighty cannot advantageously use.

The second important consideration which explains the vogue of the liberal premise that right is above might, and the liberal practice of trial by legal battle to settle disputes as to the definition of right, is the professional interest of the lawyers in having a social system operated on these principles. It means highly remunerative work, prestige, and power for thousands of men.

The liberal ideology as to right is the most important single factor for making more business for lawyers. Let two persons have a clash of interests or purposes which can be brought before the courts. How will they reason? They will think in terms of their rights and the possibilities of asserting them in a trial by legal battle. Nine-tenths of all civil suits could be settled by conference, compromise, and

agreement, without litigation, and with a law clerk or lawyer needed only to draw up the final agreement, if all parties would think of the judicial process as a costly sporting event, the results of which are uncertain and costly —certain only to be unfortunate for one party and likely in most cases to be more costly for the winner than a generous compromise.

But liberal juristic ideology inhibits almost everyone having an interest which can be made the subject of a legal battle from thinking in common sense terms. Often, of course, especially where large amounts are involved, clashes of interests are settled out of court by compromise arranged by counsel for both sides. In these cases, counsel will take anywhere from ten per cent to all of the amount affected by the compromise, or legal costs which often run into millions of dollars, when the same or a better agreement for the parties in interest could be reached through simple, non-technical negotiation as to real interests conducted by honest representatives, such agreement to be embodied in documentary form at small cost by lawyers, accountants and other experts acting as technical aids and not as vultures. In the Paramount-Publix Corporation receivership and reorganization, a typical example of banker-lawyer racketeering, or trying to get something for nothing, Federal Judge Coxe slashed the fees demanded by the lawyers and bankers $2,2I3,117, allowing only $1,026,711 of the $3,239,828 asked. One of the largest and most reputable New York law firms asked $700,000 and was allowed only $200,000.

Another Wall Street law firm, Cravath, de Gersdorff, Swaine and Wood, asked $15o,000 and was allowed nothing. The second ranking private bankers of the country, Kuhn, Loeb & Co., asked $114,287 and were allowed nothing.

Written law, courts of law and judicial process have a

place in every social scheme. But their function must be that of an instrument of the popular will, not that of making original expressions or creative interpretations of the popular will, and not that of making economic relationships a racket for lawyers and bankers. The function of law must be that of shop or institutional rules and regulations. It is obviously impossible for the highest mandatory of the people to administer the will of the people in thousands of civil and criminal cases which necessarily arise. For this purpose courts are necessary, and laws are obviously indicated merely as a guide for the courts, and a means of averting the necessity for continual reference to the highest authority expressing the public will. When the judge makes a ruling or gives a sentence pursuant to law under any system he is interpreting or expressing what has to be assumed to be the will of the people, and in ninety per cent of the cases his ruling will be acceptable. But if a case arises in which there is an ambiguity as to the correct application of the law, let the court always apply to a combined executive and legislative council of the representatives of the people, or to their delegate for an interpretation.

It must not be supposed that such a theory of administration need bar appeal or the thorough ventilation of conflicting points of view as to a given law or governmental act.

This theory merely directs the contest along other lines of procedure. For instance, suppose under a fascist State a legislative or executive measure of an economic character were deemed unwise, unjust, or undesirable by a party to whom it was applied. He would be allowed quite as much opportunity to contest the measure, if the points of contest had not been finally adjudicated, as he has under the present system. But the principles on which the contest could be waged would be different. The property owner or corporate

management which contested a new law or government measure would not be allowed to advance any arguments asserting a private right as superior to the right of the State.

On the contrary, the paramount right of the State, or of the public interest, or of the might of the people, would always be established beyond challenge. The contesting private party would try to show that the measure or act in question was not calculated to serve the purposes of the public interest as they had been authoritatively defined by the representative of the people. In other words, the measure or act was a mistake. The argument on these grounds could be as involved, and the issues as difficult, as in any legal contest under the present system, but the standards or rules would be different.

The contest or reexamination of the law or measure would be settled finally by the decision of the government, which could the more easily reverse or modify a law or administrative act because the instrumental fitness of the measure, and not the authority of government or the State, had been contested. It is a favorite and thoroughly absurd argument of liberal jurisprudence and politics that the State should not be the judge of its own cause, or in a conflict between itself and a private person.

The argument is absurd on analysis for a number of reasons. The judge is supposed to be on the side of the rule or principle which expresses the will of the people. The officer or department of government representing the State in the legal action is also supposed to be on the side of the people. Suppose the judge disagrees with the executive branch of the government as to what is the will of the people, as often occurs, the case really presents the farce or absurdity of two parties asserting representation of the will of the people. In other words, the State, through the voice of the judge, tells the State, represented by another officer of

government, that the State represented by the latter is wrong, and that the State represented by the former is right as to the will of the people. One voice of the State discredits another voice of the State. But how many voices or personalities should the State have? If the judge is the voice or personality which is always right in the State, why not have him decide all questions in the first instance so that there shall be no contests? What public advantage is gained by having a sporting event to decide a conflict of views between two persons, both supposedly representing the State? The argument that the private citizen does not have his case against the government judged by the government is rendered absurd by the one fact that the person, the judge, giving the final decision is the State or the government. The whole procedure of having one officer of the State pronounce another wrong, on the basis of metaphysical arguments as to the rights of individuals versus the rights of the State, serves mainly the purpose of providing professional income for lawyers.

The end of avoiding mistakes of administration in ultimate policies can only be served by scientific examination of the rationality of given means to given ends. Challenging the rationality of given means to given ends requires no challenging of the authority or powers of the State or government. Cases of alleged excesses or abuses of authority by an official should provide the subject of no legal battle but of a simple inquiry, stating the facts, and submitted to the highest public authority.

Challenging the authority of the State encourages a spirit of lawlessness and a disposition to thwart or circumvent a government which so often pronounces itself guilty, not of a mistake in the use of means, but guilty of a violation of law. How absurd are the daily spectacles afforded the populace by our liberal jurisprudence of a government haled into

court by a plutocrat or large corporation and there found guilty of violating the law.

Challenging the rationality of given governmental means to given public ends encourages no such lawlessness, and contributes to the understanding of current problems as a metaphysical argument about the powers of the State, or the authority of a given official in a given matter, cannot possibly do. There is no better reason why a billion-dollar corporation, which can spend a million dollars on one legal battle, should be allowed legally to oppose the considered ends of the State duly ratified by the legislature than there is why a gangster should illegally make such opposition.

In the regulation of private conduct, a fascist government will facilitate appeal, reexamination and discussion of government measures and policies. The appeal would be based on the same grounds on which an economic regulation or measure could be challenged. Any governmental interference with religious, cultural, or recreational activities of private citizens would be open to contest on the argument that it did not serve the announced and accepted ends of the State. A discussion of a given measure in these terms would be useful. A discussion of any governmental measure in terms of an individual's right to worship, cultivate his mind, or exercise his body as he sees fit is absurd, for the simple reason that no liberal State will tolerate religiously-practiced cannibalism, human sacrifices, or castration, or any one of innumerable ways of cultivating the mind or body.

The fascist State entirely repudiates the liberal idea of conflict of interests and rights as between the State and the individual, such conflict to be settled through the sporting event of trial by legal battle under the umpiring of a neutral third party supposedly represented by the judge. The major concern of the administration of justice under fascism is not

the protection of the individual against a State assumed to be prone to abuse the individual. The chief purpose of any judicial examination of public measures, whether such examination be made by the courts or specially constituted tribunals, is the protection of the State against its own mistakes. In this respect the salient points of the conflicting assumptions of liberalism and fascism are these: Liberalism assumes that individual welfare and protection is largely a matter of having active and powerful judicial restraints on governmental interference with the individual; Fascism assumes that individual welfare and protection is mainly secured by the strength, efficiency, and success of the State in the realization of the national plan.

It is easy to draw alarming pictures of a powerful State against which the individual would have the resource of no judicial veto on governmental acts. Conceivably, of course, a State and government might fall into the hands of a few individuals whose every act would be an abuse. But such an eventuality seems most improbable in any modern State, least of all in the United States.

On the other hand, it has to be recalled that the judicial checks of liberalism on government rarely avail the poor man in this or any other country where such checks are provided for, the reason being that judicial process, especially that required to overrule government, is expensive and outside the means of the poor man. So far as the abuses or mistakes, as you may choose to qualify them, of public administration are concerned, and so far as the welfare of the masses is affected thereby, any relief available through appeal and judicial review must be largely proportionate to the free facilities for such appeal and review which the State itself affords. The fascist State, through government-assisted unions of workers, government-regulated associations of employers, and

special executive tribunals for hearing appeals and complaints,—can afford far more redress and correction than the liberal State with its judicial process available only on the rich individual and the large corporation.

In considering the problem of providing redress and correction in the cases of mistakes and abuses of public administration, we must think in terms of the practicable, or of might rather than abstract concepts of right; in terms of the mechanics rather than the norms of government. There is no right, in any useful sense of the term, for a man who has not the economic might to assert a right, or who cannot, for whatever the reason may be, avail himself of the existing machinery for redress and correction. Once the problem is viewed from this angle it will become apparent that no machinery for affording relief and correction in numerous cases, promptly, cheaply, and easily can possibly operate within the framework of liberal political and juridical rules and practices. Judicial norms of liberalism obviate any such result. Liberal redress through judicial process is an expensive luxury for the rich. The State must provide and operate judicial machinery of relief and correction of the mistakes of public administration as a necessary part of the national plan. Once liberal principles like those of the State versus the citizen and separation of powers are abandoned, and the older and more rational concept of the State adopted, developing and operating machinery both to formulate the national plan and to examine scientifically complaints against alleged mistakes and abuses in its realization will be found a comparatively easy matter.

Thus a series of tribunals culminating in a tribunal of last resort, composed of the highest mandatories of the people, would be organized to function for the examination of complaints arising out of public administration, in much the same way that committees of a vast corporation function for

similar purposes. Those in charge of government would have the most obvious self-interest in making these tribunals function efficiently. For, while those exercising a public mandate have an interest in upholding the power and authority of the State, they would not have an interest in upholding its mistakes which could be corrected. This is especially true where those in office feel secure of a permanent tenure of office and realize that they must ultimately bear in one way or another the consequences of all mistakes in public administration. The art of insuring a desired standard of performance by public officials is to be found in making it their professional pride and self-interest under the system created so to perform—not in creating a system of checks, restraints, and interferences, the principal results of which will be irresponsibility in administration, frustration of efficient government, and the fostering of rackets, rather than protection of the weak or curbing of the mighty.

A VIEW OF THE CORPORATE SYNDICAL STATE

From **'The Portugal of Salazar'**

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PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE OF THE CORPORATE STATE

'THE PORTUGUESE STATE is defined by Article V of the Constitution of March 1933, as "***a unitary and corporative Republic, founded on the equality of its citizens before the law, on the free access of all classes to the benefits of civilization, and on the participation of all the elements that make up the nation in the administrative life and in the enactment of its laws***" *(Note: this is also an apt description of Mexican Synarchy—see pages 78-81 in 'Fascism: The Total Society' by H. R. Morgan —Xlibris Publishers, 2013).* ***The word "Corporative" means that the nation is regarded as an organic whole, and not as an accidental agglomeration of individuals; that it is organized by means of "Corporations", or bodies representing the different phases of its life, and that these Corporations, together with the other associations that men may have formed for various purposes, since man is a social animal, are made the basis of the political and administrative life of the country.*** By Article XVI,I "It shall be the duty of the State to authorize, unless prevented by existing legislation, all corporative

organizations, for intellectual, social, and economic purposes, and to encourage and to assist *(in)* their formation." This corporative organization has two aspects, the economic and social, and the political. It disciplines the national activity in a common harmony of interests, providing machinery for securing equal Justice for all concerned therein, and, considered politically, it provides for the nation **a form of government which can best be described as an organic democracy** *(Note: see the similarity with Brazilian Integralism, the Uruguayan Falange and Chilean National Syndicalism—HRM).* Under both these aspects it lays emphasis on the Rights of Man (although in that matter it has masters other than the prophets of the French Revolution), but it lays equal emphasis on what are conceived to be the duties of man.

In the present chapter the economic and social aspects of the Corporate State in Portugal will be discussed. The chief documents that will be considered, as defining principles, are the Constitution of March 1933, and a series of 'Decree-Laws' dated September 23rd of the same year. Of these latter, the first, known as the Statute of National Labor, which codifies what are taken to be the fundamental rights and duties of property, capital, and labor, and which defines the part to be played by the State in regulating the national economy, is very much the most important. **This document is undoubtedly modeled on the Italian Charter of Labor of 1927**; and the fact that there are many, if superficial, points of similarity between the Italian and Portuguese regimes makes it the more important that the distinctions should be emphasized. That is done in a later chapter, for the present **they can be summarized by saying that Fascism is something Italian whereas the Estado Novo is Portuguese**, and that although Italy is a Corporate State, the corporatism of Italian Fascism is (in the

French phrase for which there is no adequate translation) a corporatisme d'etat, while Dr. Salazar has rejected etatisme (*stateism*—HRM) in all its forms.

If it cannot be denied that Salazar owes a certain debt to Mussolini, it is very apparent that his greatest debt is to the social teaching of the Catholic Church. In particular the encyclical 'Quadragesimo Anno', published in May 1931, will be found to have had a profound influence on the Constitution which was drawn up by Salazar for his country during the following eighteen months and approved by a national plebiscite on March 19, 1933. This influence is so considerable that, purely as a matter of history, parallel phrases will be cited from the two documents. It is not proposed to make the papal encyclicals the sole criterion of excellence for the work of Salazar; the present brief study is not intended solely or even primarily for Catholics. But no account of him would be accurate that did not recognize the extent to which his ideas are derived from Catholic teaching.

After a consideration of the principles and theory that are embodied in the Portuguese Constitution and subsequent laws, we will proceed to a summary of what has already been achieved towards their realization.

Article VI of the Constitution runs as follows

"It is the duty of the State:

(1) To promote the unity of the Nation, and to establish order according to law, by defining and enforcing the rights and guarantees that derive from morals, equity, or law, for the benefit of the individual, the family, the local authority, and other corporate bodies, both public and private.

(2) To co-ordinate, stimulate, and direct all social activities so that a just harmony of interests may prevail, taking account of the legitimate subordination of private interests to the general well-being.

(3) To strive for improvement in the condition of the least favored classes of society, and to prevent their standard of life from falling below the minimum necessary to human subsistence." Here is a citation from the Constitution, with its primary reference to the moral law, and its primary concern for the poor, that cannot fail to recall the encyclicals. The function of the State is defined as "to co-ordinate, stimulate, and direct", whereas 'Quadragesimo Anno' used the words "directing, watching, stimulating, restraining, as circumstances suggest and necessity demands".

The point is expanded in Article VII of the Statute of National Labor, and in Article XXXI of the Constitution, of which the text is as follows:

"The State has the right and the obligation to supervise the co-ordination and control of economic and social life with the following objects:

(1) To establish a proper balance in the population, the professions, occupations, capital, and labor.

(2) To protect the national economy against agricultural, industrial, and commercial ventures of a parasitic nature, or of a character incompatible with the higher interests of human life.

(3) To ensure the lowest prices and the highest wages that are consistent with the just remuneration of the other factors of production, by means of the improvement of technique, public services, and the national credit.

(4) To develop settlement in the national territories, to

protect emigrants, and regulate emigration."

And Article XXXIV

"The State shall encourage the formation and the development of the national corporate economy. It shall ward carefully lest the elements which comprise it tend to establish among themselves an unrestricted competition such as is contrary to the just ends of society and of themselves, but that they rather are encouraged to collaborate with one another as members of the same collectivity."

The function of the State, as here defined corresponds exactly to that given to it by the Pope, who insists, that "all the occupational groups (which makeup a nation) should be fused into an harmonious unity, inspired by the principle of the common good. And the genuine and chief function of public and civil authority consists precisely in the efficacious furthering of this harmony and co-ordination of all social forces."**(3)**

It is further laid down by the Statute of National Labor that "the State should abjure all industrial or commercial exploitation, whether in the form of competition with private enterprises in the economic sphere, or in the form of monopoly, even if the result of such enterprises is designed, wholly or in part, to be used for public services. It shall only be able to establish or carry on exploitations of this kind in exceptional cases, and to obtain social advantages superior to those which would be obtained otherwise.

Similarly, the State cannot take a direct part in the administration of private enterprises unless it is called upon to finance them in order to obtain such results"

(Article VI: cp. also the

Constitution, Art. XXXIII).

"The State recognizes in private initiative the most fruitful instrument of progress and of nation all economy" (Article IV). "The State recognizes the right of ownership, and the powers of using and disposing of property that follow therefrom, as a rational necessity deduced from the nature of man, as leading to the greatest individual and collective effort in the family and in society, and as one of the first bases of social conservation and progress." (ArticleXII).

Private ownership is a fundamental fact in the Portugal of Salazar. The right to own is one of the chief of the rights of man as there conceived *(Note: This is an ideal common to all fascisms regardless of what they choose to call themselves—HRM)*; it is defined as fundamental at the beginning of the Constitution, together with freedom of thought and of meeting and association, and other rights upon which Liberal constitutions lay exclusive emphasis (Article VIII, 15; see note 5 below). It is a right that has been denied equally by Capitalism and by Socialism, which is the logical conclusion of Capitalism. **Capitalism means the concentration of ownership in the hands of a few, and therefore denies men the natural right of ownership; Socialism seeks to remedy the state of affairs so produced by withdrawing ownership even from the few. Salazar would restore ownership to many.**

It is a necessary principle, and Salazar has said, "If we are obsessed exclusively by the idea of wealth, of production, we cannot be either for or against the large or the small owner; we must favor the one here and the other there, according to geographical, climatic, and economic conditions. But and this is my point, if we do not reduce the life of society to terms of the production and the utilization

of wealth, if we find that that aspect of life, however necessary, should be tempered, completed or corrected by other realities such as tranquility, happiness, well being, and the beauty of family life, then we can laugh at the cut-and-dried formulas for higher productivity, and decide at once for a policy of breaking up the great rural estates, and of systematically making small holdings in which peasant families can be established in their ownership."

"Such a policy is an essential part of my ideas, but it conflicts, on the other hand, with the principles of those who materialize life, and regard man, as do the Russians, as a machine for producing and consuming wealth. So you see that the proper interest of States, and above all of the so-called Capitalist States, is to create the largest possible number of small proprietors, who, far from assisting communism and socialism, will become a solid conservative foundation for the Nation, and will oppose to the last all libertarian ideas."

Salazar goes on to describe what steps have been taken and are being taken to carry out this policy of encouraging the small proprietor; let it be noted that they do not include expropriation of the rich. Three-fifths of the Portuguese are engaged in agricultural work, and this large scale policy in favor of small farmers at once characterizes the new regime. It is popular. If the English reader finds it difficult to understand unless it is assimilated to some—ism that is known to him, it is much more nearly true to say of the Portugal of Salazar that it is a **Distributist State** than to say that it is Fascist. But it is better to keep—isms out of the matter altogether, more especially as so many, just as they associate Fascism vaguely 'with castor-oil and concentration camps, think only of **Distributism**, if they think of it at all, in connection with beer and the cult of the homespun.

The work that has been done in Portugal towards the

creation of an independent and owning peasantry will be referred to in the fourth section of this chapter. But it is not only in agriculture that the small man is encouraged and protected. In pursuance of its duty of "coordinating, stimulating, and directing", the State, by Article XXXII of the Constitution, must "encourage those private economic activities which are most profitable in proportion to their costs, but without prejudice to the social benefit conferred by small home industries, or to the protection which indue to them". It is rarely that "the social benefit conferred by small home industries" has received constitutional recognition.

The whole of Section III of the first part of the Constitution concerns the position of the Family in the Estado Novo. Article XII enumerates the claims of the family to the protection of the State: "The State shall ensure the constitution and protection of the family, as the source of preservation and development of the race, as the first basis of education and of social discipline and harmony, and as a fundamental of political and administrative order, by its association in the parish (freguesia) and in the municipality, as well as by its representation in the local authorities governing these. That is, the moral importance of the institution of the family is recognized equally as its merely physiological importance as "the source of the preservation and development of the race". It is "the first basis of education and of social discipline and harmony". "To our knowledge," says senhor Pereira dos Santos, in his exhaustive treatise on the Portuguese Constitution, "there is no other constitutional text on the role of the family in the State that is so comprehensive as this… . Generally, it is only its physiological function that is cited as the sole reason that justifies the protection of the family by the public authority."**(5)** He refers those who doubt to no less than six

modern constitutions, but he was writing, of course, before the publication **of_the_remarkable_new_Constitution oftire.(6)**

Article XIV of the Portuguese Constitution is this:

"With the object of protecting the Family, it appertains to the State and to local authorities:

(1) To encourage the establishment of separate homes under healthy conditions, and the institution of the family household.

(2) To protect maternity.

(3) To establish taxation in accordance with the legitimate expenses of the family, and to promote the adoption of the family wage.

(4) To assist parents in the discharge of their duty of instructing and educating their children, and to co-operate with them by means of public institutions for education and correction, or by encouraging private establishments destined for the same purpose.

(5) To take all effective precautions to guard against the corruption of morals."

The third and fourth clauses here seem of particular significance. The family wage is but an extension of the principle of the living wage. "Remuneration ought not to be insufficient to support a frugal and well behaved wage earner," says Rerum Novarum. "There is, by principle, a minimum of wage or salary which corresponds to the needs of existence," says the Portuguese Statute of National Labor. But to define constitutionally that taxation must consider preeminently the necessity of providing the family with

adequate means of subsistence is an excellent application of **the principle that the State exists for society, and not society for the State**.

The fourth clause of the above article, however, is the most remarkable. The family, and not the State-owned and compulsory school, is the natural milieu of the child. The first right of parents is the right of caring for their own children, and it is a right which in Portugal is recognized. In England it is increasingly denied. Elementary and secondary schools, and technical colleges, are maintained in Portugal by the State, and every child is bound to receive at least an elementary education. But every parent is free to decide whether his child shall receive that education at home, in a private school, or in a State school; and the home is considered to be the normal place. Freedom of education is another of those liberties guaranteed by the Constitution under Article VIII; and it is a liberty which in England is not enjoyed.

"The State," says Salazar, "is not in Portugal the chief educator; the educative function lies primarily with the. family, with which the State collaborates, only substituting itself when the family does not exist, or when it is unable to undertake its proper function."

The family, then, is the primary social unit; and, moreover, the independent, owning, family. We will again sum the-matter up in the words of Salazar. "The family which dwells beneath its own roof is necessarily more thrifty, more stable, better constituted. That is why great blocks of flats, colossal houses for the workers, with their adjoining restaurants and their common table, do not interest us. All that is all right for the chance encounters of life, for the already semi-nomadic populations of our great contemporary civilization; for our independent. nature and simpler tastes, we prefer the small independent house,

inhabited by the family which owns it."7

Two important points must be seized from the foregoing brief summary of Salazar's conception of society and of the functions and position of the State. The first characterizes his work throughout: it is his constant and primary deference to the natural and moral law, and his basic acceptance of Christian concepts of the nature of man and of society. It is made abundantly clear in his speeches. **"Apart altogether from the intrinsic value of religious truth to the individual and society, we have need of an absolute; and we are not going to create that which exists outside and above us with our own hands. We are not going to arrogate to the State the function of decreeing belief, of defining the principles of moral law. We are led, therefore, to consider Power as morally limited, and we have sought to avoid the error or the crime of deifying the State, or Force, or Riches, or Beauty, or Vice-we do not challenge God."**

It is the moral law which is first acknowledged by the Portuguese Constitution. Man's right to own property is "deduced from the nature of man", as St. Thomas Aquinas deduced it. It is so throughout the legal documents which embody the principles. of the Estado Novo. The work of Salazar has been to achieve a Christian and traditionalist reawakening. "Certes, ity a d'abord un but economique," writes Gonzague de Reynold, "puis un. but social, puis unbut national; mass, plus haut, au fond de l'avenue, comme la statue ou aboutissent toutes les lignes de la perspective, it y a le but moral. Le regime corporatiste est nettement spiritualiste."

The second point, which must be emphasized before we proceed to discuss the practical details of the Portuguese Corporate State, is that it is to be so far as is possible a spontaneous development. The duty of the State, as has

already been said,. is to "encourage": to "co-ordinate, stimulate, and direct" the corporative organization; it is not the duty of the State itself to create, or to impose from above. In the words of Article XVI of the Constitution, which we have already quoted, the State must "authorize": that is, it does not normally take the first step. Its role consists essentially in making good the shortcomings of spontaneous initiative, of complementing individual effort. This function has never been exceeded; if it be thought that at times rather a large degree of State assistance has been required to complement individual effort, it should be remembered what manner of people are the Portuguese.

They will never do to-day what can possibly be done to-morrow: it is manna, manna, as with the Spanish. They are a strange, sad, melancholy people, characterized by the '*saudade*', the feeling that their days of greatness are past, that they have fallen and cannot get up again, that there is nothing for it but to sing and to wait for to-morrow, manana, when they will be great again. But it is always manna. It is an indolence inherited of centuries against which the Government of Salazar has to work. Nevertheless, the State has reduced its own obtrusiveness to a minimum. It has abjured bureaucracy. The fifth clause of Article VII of the Statute of National Labor says: ***"The State shall reduce to the indispensable minimum the sphere of action of its officials in the national economy."*** Again, the preamble to the Decree Law of July 8, 1936, declares that the Corporate State can only live if it is administered through organs as far as possible removed from the Portuguese equivalent of Whitehall, and as nearly as possible in contact with the different members of the corporate body; and it goes on to provide for the institution by the Minister of Commerce and Industry, of bodies "designed to co-ordinate, and, in the last resort, to regulate economic and social life in

those professions which are directly concerned in export and import" that is, to supervise and ensure that "dust harmony of interests" and the "legitimate subordination of private interest to the general well-being" of which the Constitution speaks. ***"These bodies,"*** says Fr. Muller, the distinguished Belgian student of corporative theory, ***"will serve both as instruments for the exercise of State supervision and as a means of giving to the Corporations a degree of autonomy. Their composition is designed to bring the representatives of the State and of the interests concerned into direct collaboration."***

It is a new idea, not to be paralleled in any other corporative regime, and illustrates the desire of the Portuguese 'dictatorship' to reduce State intervention to a minimum, and, even in the exercise of the most necessary control, to leave as much as is possible to elevate initiative the ultimate ideal is that the Corporations representing the various industrial and commercial activities of the nation shall be entirely autonomous. "The State," writes Salazar, "refrains from itself directing the Corporation, and only reserves for itself the right-which it regards as a duty-of ensuring that the law is carried out, and that the interests of the community are protected. To go further would, in its opinion, not only be to complicate the task of government, but to prejudice social life."i'

This is a fact of the utmost importance, and is one of the chief reasons why the corporatism of Portugal is essentially different from Italian Fascism. Pius XI, after briefly recapitulating Fascist theory, writes: "Little reflection is required to perceive the advantages of the institution thus summarily described... but... there are some who fear that the State is substituting itself in the place of private initiative, instead of limiting itself to necessary and sufficient assistance.

It is feared that the new syndical and corporative organization tends to have an excessively bureaucratic and political character.",'. This is the chief criticism which, in 1931, he had to make of the Corporate State of Italy. It does not apply to the Corporate State of Portugal.

The Corporate State is a misleading term; it would be better to refer to the Corporate Nation. There is no etatisme *(stateism)* in Portugal; and Salazar has repeatedly declared that there shall not be. "During long conversations which I had the honor to have with Senhor Teotonio Pereira, then Under-Secretary of State for the Corporations, and with Salazar himself, again to quote Gonzague de Reynold, "both continually emphasized their strong opposition to etatisme. That for which they wish, that for which they are working, is a corporatisme d'association, and not a cor oratisme d'etat."3

The Portuguese Corporate State is growing organically, like a plant; it is being tended from above, but the seed from which it springs is deep in the soil of Portugal. The historic Guild system survived in Portugal in a very real form until the nineteenth century, and was only finally suppressed, in the name of Liberalism, by a decree of May 7, 1834. A political invasion accompanied the Napoleonic invasion of Portugal: what Salazar has described as the "alien and exotic plant" of Liberalism was obtruded on a country exhausted by thirty years of invasion and civil war. During the remainder of the nineteenth century Portugal was dominated by alien influences, and exploited to the full by English and German capital. But the true and historic Portugal was not dead, even if trampled led underfoot; and as the century wore on, and confusion became steadily worse confounded, she began to re-assert herself. The old Corporative ideal found more and more adherents as the effects of political and economic Liberalism made

themselves apparent; and it received great stimulus towards the end of the century from the publication of the great social encyclical of Leo XIII, Rerum Novarum. By the side of this revival of the ancient theory of economic organization came a strong movement for political nationalism., We have seen how Salazar as a young man was associated with these tendencies. His work in restoring the corporative system to Portugal, seen in its historical perspective, becomes but a vindication of the historic Portugal. He has ended the long period of alien domination.

It would be absurd to pretend that the ancient Guild system had not outlived its usefulness in 1834, just as it would be absurd to press too far the analogy between the ancient Guild and the modern Corporation.

But what I have written remains true: Salazar has restored Portugal to herself. He has realized a spontaneous and natural movement. That is partly what is meant by saying that the corporatism of the Estado Novo is a corporatisme d'association. What also is meant is that the corporate organization is not imposed from above, but encouraged to develop from below, from the people, from the Nation.

It possesses a degree of adaptability, of suppleness, which will be made clear as this discussion of it proceeds, and which is one of its chief strengths. It is not a system so much as a principle: the organization of the nation is being modified to suit particular circumstances, shaped to local conditions. It is growing organically.

"Although we have not yet completely constituted a single Corporation," wrote Salazar in 1936, "the corporative spirit is beginning to penetrate the national economy, and that is essential for the success of the regime. Sometimes we have to make experiments with pre-corporative bodies before envisaging typically corporative organization, to open the way, as it were, rather than run the risk of

compromising an ideal by lack of preparation."14 To M. de Reynold he said: It is essential to go slowly in organizing} the Corporations, for it is first and foremost necessary to develop the corporative spirit, without which the Corporations must risk degenerating, either into a system of trusts, or into one of State bureaucracy. For the present, the State is forced into continual intervention, because it is coming into continual conflict with individualist opposition and with Portuguese apathy. We do not wish to introduce corporatism everywhere all at once; we are proceeding as we can, beginning at the beginning, and taking account of local circumstances."IS

"One cannot but be astonished," writes Fr. Muller, "in studying the new corporative regime of Portugal, by the remarkable restraint shown inn the legislative documents which are bringing it into being. The third section of the Statute of National Labor, devoted to the corporative organization, is all contained in ten articles; the decree concerning the gremios, or employers' associations, has no more; the decree concerning the national syndicates is all compressed into twenty-five articles. The constitution and administration of the syndicates have alone be entreated in some detail. We have scarcely any information about the organization and internal administration of the employers' associations, and we know nothing at all about the Federations envisaged as intermediary in the corporative structure. On the Corporations themselves the Statute of National Labour provides only some very general principles.

"A bewildering brevity indeed, and a change from the cut-and-dried systems to which certain enthusiasts for the corporative idea have accustomed us. Such people like to display before our eyes the pieces of an ingenious mechanism which they have invented, to describe the unfailing precision of its various parts, to expatiate on the

exact working and the precise balance of its strictly ordered organizations, apparently without being aware that society is organic—that life does not permit of prescribed rules for its development. Corporative organization is not assembled like a machine; it is born, it grows and flourishes from the impulse of internal and spontaneous forces which the legislator can certainly direct, watch, stimulate, restrain, but on which it is useless for him to attempt to impose his will." Salazar is never afraid or reluctant to admit mistakes, to modify, to go back, to abandon any scheme which in practice proves unsatisfactory. But he will never abandon the fundamental principles to which in his speeches and writings he constantly returns. Perhaps one of the most important things about the Portuguese Corporate State is that it is still frankly experimental; and perhaps one of the most important things about Salazar is his dictum that "the State represents a doctrine in action". When first he took office he said: "I know exactly what I want and where I am going." He has proved that to be true. Even the Constitution of Portugal contains ample provision for revision. But in the fundamental principles on which the work of national reconstruction is based there can be no revision.

First among those principles is that Portugal shall be Portugal. For a century she has suffered the encroachments of English and German financial and commercial interests, and of French political and intellectual influences: the francezismo. We have made a general comparison between the Portuguese people and the Irish; and both in Portugal and in Ireland have the years since the Great War seen a revolt against alien domination, and the acceptance toy the people' of new Constitutions inspired by Christian principles equally as by a spirit of national pride.

"We have distorted the idea of wealth; we have divorced it from its object, which is to serve worthily the life of man.

We have put it into a separate category, apart from the interests of the community and apart from moral concepts; and we have imagined that the destiny of individuals, of States, and of nations, is to accumulate goods without regard for social utility, without regard for justice in their acquisition or their use.

We have distorted the idea of labor, and we have forgotten the personality of the laborer, his dignity as a human being; we have thought only of his value as a producing machine, we have measured or weighed his productive power and we have not so much as remembered that he is a member of a family, that life is not in him alone, but in his wife, his children, and his home.

"We have gone further: we have dispersed his home. We have called forth the woman and the child as factors in production, less efficient but cheaper as detached units, elements entirely independent of one another, without bonds, without affection, without a life in common; in fact,. we have destroyed the family. At one stroke, we have broken into the family circle; and, having increased competition amongst the workers by introducing the labor of a women; we have not accorded to each family in salaries the value of the industry of a good housewife, of the social usefulness of the mother of a family.

"We detached the worker from the natural surroundings of his profession: free from the bonds of association, he Next we allowed him to ally himself with others and he did so, by reaction, not in order to achieve unity, not with the aim of helping to co-ordinate all the various factors in the work of the production of wealth, but in opposition to someone or something-in opposition to the State, which is the guardian of order, in opposition to his employers, whom he regarded as a hostile class, even in opposition to other workers… . No objects of intellectual or moral advancement, or of the

improvement of professional technique, or of insurance or provident work; no spirit of co-operation—nothing but hate, destructive hate.

"We forced the State, at first, into an absolute passivity, unconcerned, whether willingly or not, in reorganization of the national economy; and then into an all-absorbing intervention, which regulated the production, the consumption, and the distribution of wealth… . Those who, blindly driven by the logic of their false principles, have carried this to its conclusion, have mounted the machine with a great showoff system, with the apparent infallibility of science and advanced technique; but the free worker, the MAN, has disappeared, caught up in the colossal mechanism that is without mercy and without mind. We have seen the workers mobilized like machines, shifted like cattle when the pasture fails."

That is an indictment by Salazar of the Liberal inheritance. Society was disintegrated by Liberalism; Salazar seeks a solution by synthesis, by reconstruction, instead of by regimentation. He seeks to restore to society the groupings which are natural to man. A man lives first in his family, secondly in his trade. The family is to be protected and preserved. And men who work in different ways will form different professional associations, not so much for defense of their professional interests as to make possible their collaboration in the life of the community; and not more for that than for such purposes as the development of professional technique, the pursuance of-common ideals, the protection of their fellows in times of adversity and misfortune. Employers will have their associations, and workers theirs. Wider organizations will co-ordinate into a Corporation all concerned in a given branch of activity; and the various Corporation swill be coordinated in a Corporative Chamber, in which also national problems and

public affairs will be discussed by those with particular knowledge of them.

"It is natural that just as those who dwell in close proximity constitute townships, so those who practice the same trade or profession, in the economic field or any other, form corporate groups." "In these corporations the common interests of the whole vocational group must predominate; and among these interests the most important is to promote as much as possible the contribution' of each trade or profession to the common good." These words might well be those of Salazar, but they are not.

The Corporations represent no more than the different occupations in which men are engaged, organized so that they may adequately collaborate with the State in promoting the national well-being. For the Corporations are the component parts of the nation, considered functionally; and, since the nation is an entity, an organic whole, the interests of its component parts are ultimately identical with the national interest.

Each Corporation, each occupational group, is responsible for its own corporate life, as were the Medieval Guilds. It must protect all those engaged in the branch of activity with which it is concerned; it must see that they are adequately rewarded for their work, it must defend their rights, it must provide for them in times of misfortune.

It is, as we have already said, misleading to press the analogy with the medieval Guild system too far, but there is this in common: that society is regarded as being divided, as it were, vertically, according to trade or profession or occupation, instead of horizontally according to social status or (what is worse) according to income. It is an elementary principle that all idea of the class war is to be repudiated. "The hierarchy of functions and social interests is an essential condition of the national economy", says

"'The Statute of National Labor; and it should be seen at once that that is not inconsistent with the vertical division of society. So far as the Portuguese State is concerned, there are not upper, middle, and lower classes; but there are men concerned in the cork industry, men concerned in the wine industry, and so on. In each industry "the hierarchy of functions" must remain; there will be authority and obedience, but not absolute authority and wage-slavery. Strikes and lock-outs and all such methods of class defense are specifically declared illegal both by the Constitution and by the Statute of National Labor.—There are associations alike of employers and employed; but the first purpose of these is not to defend the interests of a class, but to collaborate in the interests of the community. That is why it is misleading to refer to the workers' associations as "Trade Unions", with its implication of motives of defense; the word "syndicate" is also misleading, as it has different associations in different places; but the Portuguese use it, so we must do the same.

The Portuguese national syndicates, according to Article IX of the Decree-Law which governs them, should subordinate their own interests to the interests of the national economy, in collaboration with the State and with the higher organs of production and of labor". The key principle in all corporative theory is the principle of the common good.

The national syndicates group together the employees and wage-earners in a given industry; and their formation has from the start been left freely to the initiative of those concerned, although they must secure Government recognition, and, of course, not more than one syndicate will be recognized for each industry in the same neighborhood. Their statutes, to receive approval and recognition, must expressly repudiate the class struggle, and declare readiness

to co-operate with the other factors in the national economy. They do not vary much: the interests of the working-man are very much the same in all places. Whatever his trade and wherever he lives, he requires reasonable hours, reasonable conditions of work, an adequate wage, good housing, and so on. Consequently, the terms of the law governing the syndicates are much more precise than is possible for those concerning the employers' associations, which vary considerably.

Decree-Law No. 23,050 of September 23, 1933, lays down that ordinarily no syndicate containing fewer than a hundred members will be recognized; that not more than one syndicate for each trade may be formed in each district; that the capital town of the district will normally be its headquarters; that membership will not be compulsory, but that juridical personality will be granted to the syndicates, which will legally represent all workers in its industry and district, whether members or not. Rules governing their organization are also given. Part of the function of the syndicates is to negotiate collective labor contracts with the employers' associations; but they are also essentially concerned with the welfare of their members. Article XII imposes on them the obligation to set up syndical providential societies, to or Fanise agencies for finding employment for workers in the trade with which they are concerned, and to establish and maintain schools for professional and technical instruction; and "some syndicates have built schools for their members' children, sanatoria and creches, provided medical aid and medicines, and obtained good and cheap houses, out of those built by the State, for their members. Subsidies in sickness and unemployment have been provided. Technical

- The "District"-Distrito—is a Portuguese

administrative area corresponding, roughly, to the English county, classes, language courses, and general educational lectures have been given… . many public meetings have been held, which have enabled employers and workers to meet in a friendly atmosphere.":11 The employers' associations are known as Decree-raw and are practically all governed by Decree-Law No. 23,049, also of September 23.1933. According to this law, the gremios are to be created by ministerial initiative and we are confronted with what appears to be a species of corporatisme d'etat. The greatest merit of this law is its elasticity; no uniform regulations are provided for the gremios, but each is to be adapted to the particular conditions of the industry with which it is concerned. And just as it is essential that particular circumstances should be allowed to modify and to vary the application of an ideal, so it must be remembered that immediate but temporary necessities must frequently compel deviation from what is in theory best. The apparent cor oratisme d'etat of the first law dealing with the employers' associations was partly a result of the conditions prevailing in the anarchy of the years before 1926, but, even more, it was a necessary result of that international disaster technically known as a "crisis'.', or "slump", which hit the world so soon after Salazar began his work.

Before the promulgation of the Constitution, some branches of production had actually appealed to the Government for some sort of organization In the sardine industry, for instance, which is one of the most important in Portugal, markets were being lost to foreign competition and honest firms were being hopelessly 'undercut by unscrupulous exporters of86 tins full of cheap but rancid

fish. The victimized firms appealed to the Government, and Salazar, then only Minister of Finance (1931), carried out a thorough study of the industry and its problem, and issued a report. On the recommendation of this, report, the production and export of sardines were strictly regulated, and a "Consortium of Sardine Canners" was created, of which membership was compulsory. This piece of State interference saved an extremely important industry from ruin at the hands of foreign and unscrupulous competitors. Similarly, order was introduced into the port wine industry by compelling the co-operation of all producers. The organizations then set up were "pre-corporative" in type, and have since been revised as the Corporate State develops.

When the legislation of 1933 extended order and co-ordination to all forms of national activity, it is not, then, surprising to find that production was at first organized by the Government, to which. production had itself appealed. But very soon we find a striking proof of the desire of the Government for a true corporatisme d'association, in the preamble to a second important Decree-Law about the gremios, that of December 3, 1934. This defends the previous law on grounds of necessity; and continues: `The organization of employers, while conforming to the objects prescribed for it and the duties imposed upon it by corporative law, ought not normally to proceed from Government initiative, nor attempt compulsorily to include all enterprises. It will arise from the initiative of those who are themselves interested, who will have to furnish their own effort, assume their own responsibilities, study the problems which concern them most nearly, and enter into the role which falls to them under the corporate organization

This is more in keeping with the rest of Salazar's legislation. Groups that are optional and formed by, instead

of compulsory and imposed on, the employers of labor, are now recognized by the Government. The only condition made is the necessary one that they shall include at least half of all those engaged in the industry in question, ‘and shall represent at least half of the financial interest involved. Otherwise rival associations might spring up in competition, or minorities might secure recognition, and there would not be any true participation of that industry in the corporative structure. Such associations will receive full recognition; that is, they will be accorded juridical personality, and will legally represent all employers in the industry and district of their competence; and conditions of labor agreed upon by them in meetings with representatives of the workers’ syndicates will be similarly binding on all, whether members or no.

Steps taken by them for the benefit of the industry with which they are concerned shall be binding on all when sanctioned by the Government on the recommendation of the Corporative Council.

“Par l’orientation nouvelle qu’il vient de donner a sa politique corporative, le Gouvernement portugais adhere a is formule d’auto-discipline, en quoi nousvoyons 1’expression la plus sincere de l’idee corporative,” comments Fr. Muller. “De grand cceur nousapplaudissons a cette innovation, dont nous attendons, pour le progres de l’organisation professionnelleau Portugal, les plus heureux resultats.”23

It is perhaps misleading to refer to the gremios as “employers’ associations”, since they are groupings by function: a man belongs to a gremio as being a producer, a contributor to the national wealth, rather than as being an employer of labor. Nevertheless, an essential purpose of the syndicates and the gremios is that they should meet together to draw up collective labor contracts, and to ensure good relations between employers and employed. Disputes

or differences arising out of such collective bargaining come before independent tribunals, under the administrative authority of the National Institute of Labour and Social Welfare, against the decisions of which appeals may be made, on points of law, to the Supreme Council of Public Administration.24

Both national syndicates and gremios have a consultative function, and must furnish advice and information on matters of their competence when required. They have also a political function, which will be referred to in the following chapter.

The syndicates and gremios concerned in different parts of the country in the same industry? are grouped into regional or national "Federations', and Federations concerned with allied industries or pursuits are further co-ordinated in "Unions". And all these various groupings are finally to be integrated into Corporations. Being representative of the general interests of production, the Corporations can establish among themselves general and binding rules dealing with their internal discipline and the co-ordination of activities, always proving that they shall have received the necessary powers from the syndicates or gremios, Unions or Federations, which comprise them, as well as the authorization of the State." (Statute of National Labour:Art. XLIII.) It is important to remember that the Corporations are to be so far as possible autonomous, and that authority is to travel upwards, as it were, from the bottom, instead of downwards from the top. The Corporations came last into being: they represent the final work of integration. Let this be remembered by those who attempt too hasty a comparison with Italian Fascism.

The purposes of the Corporation, as of the 'syndicates and other corporate bodies, are not merely economic; any more than the purpose of the medieval Guild was merely

economic. But they go further than did the Guilds in having a political function. The Corporative bodies take part in the election of the Municipal Chambers, the Provincial Councils, and the Corporative Chamber. The Chamber crowns the corporative organization of the nation, bringing together representatives of all phases of national activity to discuss and resolve their common problems, and to shape all the nation's work towards national well-being and prosperity. This political aspect of corporatism is the matter of the next chapter, in which the Corporative Chamber will be discussed in detail. It remains here to mention two further bodies the National Institute of Labor and Social Welfare, and the Corporative Council. The former, which is presided over by the Under-Secretary of State for the Corporations, exists in order "to ensure the fulfillment of the laws protecting the workers, and of other laws of social character, by integrating the workers, and others taking part in production, in the corporative organization, as laid down in the Statute of National Labor, according to the spirit of political, economic, and social renovation of the Portuguese Nation".25

The Corporative Council is the supreme body through which is exercised the general supervision of the Government over the development of the corporate structure. According to the law, establishing it,'6 "All the decisions of the Council, provided that they be not an infringement or an alteration of the existing laws, are norms to be followed in the corporative organization, and they, are to be immediately put into effect by the Ministries and departments concerned." Its members are the President of the Council of Ministers, two University Professors, and a number of ex-officio representatives of various ministerial departments. This Council was created a year later than the National Institute of Labor and Social Welfare: and it seems

possible that a little widening of the scope of that Institute might have made it unnecessary, so avoiding the creation of an extra body that has no representatives of the Corporations upon it. But no doubt the Portuguese know best.

Having described the Portuguese Corporate State as it exists on paper, some mention must be made of what has already been done towards translating it into reality. I say already because the Estado Novo is coming into being surely but gradually. Plans for educating illiterate millions overnight, for bringing about an unheard of prosperity in the course of a few days, have always characterized Liberal and "progressive" regimes in the Peninsula; we have the example of the vast promises, so soon confounded, made by the Spanish Republicans in 1931. Or again, there was very soon a bitter irony about the rhetorical proclamation issued to the Portuguese people by the new Republican Government on October 5, 191o. "Now at last ends the slavery of our country, and, luminous in its virginal essence, rises the beneficent aspiration of a regime of liberty." And so on. The Republic had to give the people rhetoric, for it had nothing else to give. But there has never been any rhetoric about Salazar: his promises have always been most guarded, and the realization more than the anticipation. First and foremost he is a realist he is one of the very few politicians who have never allowed themselves to be mesmerized by words. "All one hears to-day on the subject of liberty," he has written, "or of Parliament, or democracy, or about the rights of the people and the brotherhood of man-all that has been standardized to such an extent that we shall soon be able to buy speeches ready-made to suit all occasions, as we can already buy love letters."

"Wisely inoculated against the disease of extreme ideologies," writes M. Maeterlinck of him, "he admits

nothing that will not stand the test of daily experience. His mind is a veritable laboratory, where distilled Utopias are made practical. To quote his own words again," The Portuguese Republic is a Corporate State by definition, but that does not mean to say that the corporative organization is already realized wherever we have decided that it is possible and desirable. Far from it: we can have no rapid advance, but a slow and sure progress, as we are trying out a new system which has not yet been used sufficiently to make it possible to proceed without extreme caution."2 Or again, in 1934: "We are aware that there are grave errors in our economic and social organization—unjust inequalities, imperfections, misery, falsities, and contradictions-and we have got to remedy them, or wipe them out. It is for that that we continue our revolution; but our revolution, if it is to be lasting, cannot destroy that upon which it is based-the fundamental principles; founded in the labor and the sufferings of past generations, the great realities of social life."'9 And in his famous speech of July 30, 1930: "Because we are embodying our ideas in a Constitution, we must not jump to the conclusion that the remedy for all political evils is found... It is not a program for angels."

The reconstruction of Portugal has been and is being a slow matter of trial and error and patient endeavor, guided throughout by those social principles which we have tried to set out in the foregoing pages. Nevertheless, very considerable progress has been made, under the guidance of Salazar and his Ministers, among whom should Dr. Pedro Teotonio Pereira be especially mentioned.

The organization of industry and commerce was undertaken first, being the most intricate as well as the most urgent necessity. The organization began at the bottom: national syndicates and gremios came first. We have seen how in the case of the latter the initiative came in the first

instance from the Government, as it had to; and how the workers' organization was the work of the workers themselves.

Under the "Liberal" regime, all Trade Unions were regulated by a restrictive law of May 9, 1891; but there were nearly 1,000 of them in 1930, before Salazar began his work. There were so many because most of them had no more than a purely nominal existence. It was doubtful whether collective bargaining was permitted by the law of 1891, even in its widest interpretation; at all events, the general interpretation of it, which certainly expressed its spirit, did not allow it. A decree of December 21, 1924, anticipated the formation of federated unions and the establishment of principles for collective bargaining "according to the terms of a further law"; but this further law never appeared, and the decree was no more than a mirage. One thing, at any rate, is evident: collective labor, agreements had no binding force; there was no authority to ensure their application, and apart from one or two isolated and irregular examples; Portugal never knew them."3° The Estado Novo has meant Justice for the laboring Portuguese such as he had not known for over a century.

Salazar has always put the working-man first. His syndicates are now fully organized and fully effective, and meet and collaborate with the organizations of his employers. The "Unions" and "Federations described above are also in existence in many cases; but the complete structure of the Corporations is not yet achieved. Portugal is, however, more than halfway from liberal-capitalist chaos to corporate order.

All that has been done in the various industries has been described in detail, in English, by M. Freppel Cotta, in his book Economic Planning in Corporative Portugal. But there are two in particular, which concern between them a very

large proportion of the working population, in which particular progress has been made the industries of fishing and agriculture. These well illustrate the work of the new regime.

For centuries the men of Portugal have been men of the sea: navigators and fishermen. The calling of the sea is rooted deeply in all the history and traditions of the country; and the men of the coastal villages who catch fish are living to-day the lives that their fathers and grandfathers have lived before them through the ages. The new Government has not attempted to impose the full rigor of corporative symmetry upon this ancient industry: here are well illustrated its twin virtues of adaptability and the avoidance of bureaucracy. Particular plans have been made to suit particular needs. A special law, dated March i i, 1937, concerns the fishermen.

Employers and purchasers, owners of boats and others upon whom the fishermen depend, are grouped, as normally, into gremios. But for the men themselves there are not syndicates on the national plan, but special institutions called Casas dos Pescadores, Houses of the Fishermen, to which their employers and the owners of their fleets are also obliged to belong, and over each of which-there is one at every fishing port-an official corresponding to the English Barbour Master presides. The Casa dos Pescadores, then, includes both masters and men, and is designed chiefly as an organ of social co-operation. Its functions' are classified under three heads: the representation and defense of professional interests; the instruction of the young in the art of fishing; and care for the sick, assistance for those who have suffered loss in storms, and general welfare work. It is something remarkably close to the medieval guild. And it is of the first importance to note the following clause in the law: "The

Casas dos Pescadores have the duty of guarding jealously all local traditions and customs, particularly those related in spirit specifically to men of the sea." "As far back as the first half of the fourteenth century," writes Freppel Cotta, "the fisher folk had formed admirable confraternities in which religious and moral welfare was combined with economic and social relief, and the influence of which was still visible in the prevailing rules of fishing, and generally in the customs of all the fisher folk. Those confraternities were the accredited representatives of all seafarers, and were designed to help their widows, the sick and the disabled, and even to make good the loss caused by shipwreck or damage. Their revenue was derived from much as possible of those confraternities."3' Nothing could better demonstrate the essential traditionalism of the Estado Novo, which is in reality not a "New State" at all, but the ancient Portugal of history and the centuries.

The whole spirit of the new corporatism, indeed, may be found in this particular application of it. We see its traditionalism, its sympathetic power of adaptation, its avoidance of bureaucracy, and at the same time the recognition that the incorrigibly illiterate and unpractical nature of the Portuguese people, as well as the need for co-ordination, makes necessary the creation of a modicum of officials. The various Casas dos Pescadores, scattered round the coast, receive control from a central board, which administers their common funds, so that those in the less prosperous localities may be adequately equipped.

Fishing and agriculture, the two oldest occupations of mankind, together provide the livelihood of a substantial majority of the Portuguese. We have seen that it is the intention of Salazar to give to Portugal an agricultural peasantry of independent small proprietors. With this purpose, extensive irrigation schemes have been undertaken

in the Alemtejo, in the basins of the Tagus and Sado rivers,. where the rainfall is small and irregular, to make possible small-scale farming where it was not possible before. "We have already outlaid a million to initiate this irrigation policy," Salazar told Antonio Ferro, "and you will see that peacefully and quietly, without any kind of violence, we are carrying out a very far-reaching social work. What I say has been absolutely proved. In the north of Italy, for instance, and in the basin of the Ebro and other districts of Spain, the division of property by water has been successfully carried out; and in the east and south-east of Europe, where, especially since the War, a policy of distribution of the land has been followed by cutting up large estates as one would a piece of cloth, without regard for natural conditions, it is not difficult to see that that policy has failed."32

There is in Portugal, then, a large population of small farmers and agricultural peasants-a population which is being extensively increased. These men, the great backbone of Portugal and, indeed, of any country, are for the most part neither employers nor employed. If they are employers, they are employers only of one or two laborers; nor do they specialize but practice general subsistence farming. It is evident that they cannot be fitted into the general corporative scheme of syndicates and gremios; and this has been recognized from the beginning. In the very first article of the Decree-Law of September 23, 1933, which governs them; the Casas do Povo, or Houses of the People, are called bodies for social co-operation, and not simply associations for the pursuance of professional interests, like the syndicates. The syndicates also aim at social co-operation, which in their case, owing to their greater compactness and organization, is more easily, achieved; but they are primarily professional associations, vocational groups. The purpose of the Casas do Povo is to provide rural centers for social

purposes. They are created on the initiative of the people themselves, or by the Government when it is thought necessary. All land-owners are obliged to contribute to their maintenance, and grants are also made by the State and by local administrative bodies. Their function is to provide social centers, assist the needy, educate the ignorant (a colossal task), and generally to raise the standard of rural life. They will make loans to peasants for agricultural purposes or for setting up small home industries, and provide unemployment relief, when necessary, in the form of work.

Provision has also been made for the creation of special agricultural gremios, to protect the interests of those who produce for market, and these can, be organized into Unions and Federations.—Commercial agriculture follows the general plan, and corporative organization is well advanced in the production of the important products of wheat, wine, fruit, and rice. The same principles are being followed in every case: order is being brought into the national economy by that which is inappropriately enough called a "dictatorship"-it is a dictatorship which has declared fora policy of laisser-faire, but which will laisser-fairenot isolated individuals but organized professions, autonomous corporations.'

THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE

‘IT IS UNLIKELY that those who are acquainted with the great social encyclicals of Leo XIII and the present Pope,. and whose knowledge of the Portuguese Estado Novo is no more than they have obtained from the previous chapters of this book, will have any serious quarrel with the opinion of the American Jesuit who recently wrote that “the whole, system is, in effect, an applied resume of, Catholic political philosophy and of the Papal. encyclicals”.~ The influence of these upon the mind of Salazar has already been noted; and Fr. Muller finds a “direct agreement between Quadragesimo Anno and the Statute of National Labour.2 The words of Pius XI in Divini Redemptoris, that” a sound prosperity is to be restored according to the true principles of. a sane corporative system might well appear to be an endorsement of the work of Salazar, and of his Constitution in which the influence of the encyclical of six years earlier is so apparent. But there is more to the matter. Manoilesco3 rightly distinguishes three kinds of corporativism: (1) Pure; (2)mixed; (3) subordinate. In the first the corporations constitute the sole source of the supreme legislative power; in the second that power is shared with other sources, such as ‘a parliament based on universal suffrage; and in the third the corporations, with their organ of national integration, have only an advisory capacity. To him the only true corporatives system is that of the first kind; and it is not possible to claim Papal approval for any system of political machinery. The Popes: have not been concerned with politics, but only with the truths of religion and the moral principles which politics must respect, and which it is the business of the Church to maintain. The Church regards indifferently any form of government, so long as the

essential moral rights of man are acknowledged and safe guarded. According to Leo XIII in Immortale Dei, `Not one of the several forms of government is in itself condemned, as none of them contains anything contrary to Catholic doctrine, and all of them are capable, if wisely and justly managed, of ensuring the welfare of the State." Liberalism is a condemned error, because it teaches that "every man is a law unto himself", and because liberty of thought is in obvious conflict with Revealed religion. But the usual political concomitants of Liberalism-the doctrines of Parliamentary democracy, of universal franchise, of political toleration-do not stand condemned. And if Salazar has introduced in Portugal a corporativism other than the third of the three types distinguished by M. Manoilesco, if there is in the corporative system any political significance, then it is something more than the corporative system of which Divini Redemjtoris speaks And that is, in fact, the case. As has already been pointed out, the Portuguese corporative system is still in process of development, and it is not yet possible to say what form it will finally take. But it is already clear that the Corporative Chamber is to have more than a purely advisory capacity, whether or not it may ultimately be the sole legislative body. Moreover, there is every indication that it is to be the chief legislative body, and that the present undeniably authoritarian Government will give place to a form of organic democracy working on a functional basis through the co orations. It is at least certain that Portugal w not revert to Liberal parliamentary democracy on the English pattern; and before going on to discuss the present system of government and the possibilities of the future, we will explain why that is certain, by devoting a few pages to a brief historical survey of "democracy" in the Peninsula, and, in particular, in Portugal Rather more than a century ago, civil war came to

both Spain and Portugal, where already the Napoleonic invasions had wasted and destroyed. In each case the war was one between rival claimants to the throne, one representing the traditional Monarchy, and the other (in each case a small girl) representing the ideas of the French Revolution, and heading what, most historians term the Constitutional party. It was scarcely a generation since the fall of the Bastille. Particularly in the seaport towns of the Peninsula, those who saw political or financial power within their grasp played upon the war-weariness of the people to stimulate revolution. Don Carlos in Spain and Dom Miguel in Portugal were both followed by the greater ~3~ also sent a British naval force in the cause, under the command of Captain Napier, R.N., an excellent British sailor and hero of the Syrian campaign of 1840, who on this occasion found it more convenient to be known as El Almiral Carlos Ponza.

Similar steps were taken to preserve Spain from Don Carlos. The British Government lent £540,000 to the child Isabella for military expenses, and gave permission for the raising of ten thousand men in England. The British Legion, under the command of Sir George deLacy Evans, did not exactly cover itself with glory; but Palmerston's "inter-meddling", together with assistance from financial and commercial interests, was sufficient to ensure the success of political liberalism.—The full iniquity of this work is to-day apparent; Spain is fighting again the same war, and the same international interests, together with others more deadly, are pitted against. her. That Portugal' is not also bathed in blood is due to Antonio de Oliveira Salazar.

The war against Dom Miguel in Portugal, against whom, as Palmerston said in the House of Commons in June 1829, "the civilized world rings with execrations", continued, owing to the strange preference of the Portuguese for tyranny, until May 1834, when he abandoned his claims by

the Convention of Evora Monte. The child Maria da Gloria, at the time at school in Paris, was confirmed on the throne, and Portugal entered upon' a century of confusion.

These are broad generalizations; and it is easy for over-simplification to become mere historical distortion. It is historical distortion to say that the Miguelist war was simply a conflict between national sentiment and foreign interests, in which the latter won. But it is also historical distortion to say that Spain or Portugal in any way desired or were suited to representative government. "One of the greatest mistakes of the nineteenth century," writes Salazar, with profound truth, "was to suppose that the English parliamentary system, English democracy, was a form of government capable of adaptation to the needs of all European peoples."5 It is a pity that that historical fact is not clear to those well-intentioned Englishmen who so bitterly denounce General Franco as a "Fascist" and a destroyer of liberty.

In Portugal, as in Spain, Parliamentary government on the English pattern has always meant a chaos of camarillas and caciquismo, corruption, rotativism and revolution; it has meant the creation_ of a class of professional politicians preying on the people: a travesty of democracy screening the machinations of profiteers. That will seem like a sentence of excited exaggeration until the political history of Portugal in the nineteenth century comes to be written in English. English—electioneering methods of the eighteenth do not bear comparison with those of Portugal. The electorate in 1871 was less than seven per cent of the population, and was wholly controlled, not by bribes, as in the good old English fashion, but by local "bosses".

The Portuguese of the years before 1926 cared little and knew less about what went on at San Bento, where the Cortes sat, and where (as he was always told) he was the

ultimate controlling influence. "As disorder followed disorder, he turned himself always more deeply towards his wife and his children, his house, his daily work, the field, the garden, the forest. These things had been known to his parents, to his grandparents, and to his ancestors through the ages, who had successively dug the soil, cultivated the vine and the patch of maize, reared children, suffered..."6 What use was the "vote" to him? He was, and remains, an incorrigible illiterate, concerned only with the realities of life, with hardship and the soil, and with eternity.

"If Lisbon turns Turk tomorrow, all Portugal will wear the Fez," wrote the novelist Eca de Queiroz. Too often has the voice of the Lisbon mob been taken for the voice of Portugal. It was republican Lisbon that made Portugal a Republic in 1910; and the reasons why Lisbon was republican have been told in an earlier chapter. Only a few months previously King Manoel had made a journey through the country districts of Beira "which in some places became a a triumphant progress the peasants pressing eagerly to welcome their King.7 But Lisbon turned Turk, and Portugal accepted, un-protesting, unknowing. For the last Ministry of the Monarchy, the elections o August 28, 1910, returned 14 Republicans among 144 deputies. Of these 14, 1o came from Lisbon. And when the Republic was proclaimed, the millions of Portuguese knew nothing of the matter, had no more hand in it than they had ever had in the affairs of Portugal, and were concerned in it only in so far as the fantastic confusion into which Portuguese politics were immediately plunged had its effect upon their daily lives.

The constant succession of revolutions between log **19 ro** and 1926 were exclusively political in character; and were unnoticed outside Lisbon: the general disappearance of-administrative order and the general rise in the cost of living continued steadily and without interruption. In r926 the

country rose we have told the story already.

The Government that then, in the name of the nation, took control of affairs was a dictatorship. It was a dictatorship. in the Roman sense of the word: that is, a Government that had seized temporary absolutism to meet a national emergency. It was certainly not a dictatorship in the modern sense of a tyranny it represented a release from tyranny, from the intolerable tyranny of the professional politicians and the local bosses. At the beginning of 1928, General Oscar Carmona submitted his defacto Presidency tot he country; on March 25th a popular mandate confirmed him in his office. Four years later a new Constitution which had been drawn up under the guidance of the Minister of Finance, Dr. Salazar, was also submitted to the country for approval. The plebiscite was taken on March r9, 1933, and resulted as follows: Number of the electorate 1,330,268 Votes in favor 1,292,864 Votes opposing 6,090 Spoilt votes 66o Abstentions 30,654

The Government then ceased to be a dictatorship, since it became government through a popularly approved Constitution. It remained an authoritarian Government, and one that can best be described as a Constitutional Monarchy.; I say a Monarchy because that word means the rule of one man. Salazar is a Monarch. In Portugal in1926, as so often in ancient Rome, and as ten years later in Spain, it was the army that gave expression to the voice of, the people. It was the army which gave power to Salazar; but Salazar was none the less far from being the nominee of—a military Junta. He accepted office on his own terms, and since that time he has proved himself to be in the truest sense the servant of his people. Kings are sometimes the puppets of oligarchy, but Monarchs are always the servants of their people, and lose power when they cease to be so. A Monarch, by the support of the—masses of his subjects,

holds in check all those who in the nature of things hold high office in the State, and curbs the ambition of those who would turn administrative power to their own ends. A Monarch is the answer to the ancient question of Juvenal Quiscustodiet ipsos custodes? If he ceases to be the champion of his people, the balance is lost; authority passes from his hands, and the country is governed by oligarchy.

Portugal was governed during the nineteenth century, and during the first quarter of the twentieth, by a Liberal-Masonic oligarchy. But Salazar, who has eradicated both individualist Liberalism and anti-f)popular Freemasonry, is a Monarch: his rule is popular and national, and he would have been hounded from Lisbon years ago were it not so, either by the people, or by the dispossessed, oligarchy appealing to the chimera of democracy.

To-day, then, Portugal is governed under a Monarchical Constitution. But there is every indication that this is only to last until the Corporate organization of the country is fully developed, when the Corporative Chamber will become the chief, if not the only legislative body, and the form of government will become one that can be described as organic democracy.'. The very fact that the present Constitution contains such ample provision for revision is perhaps an indication that it is not regarded as final.

We will, therefore, consider first the Constitutional Monarchy of to-day, and then the possibilities of the future. It will be interesting to see whether the Royal House of Bragahza is restored. That may happen either before or after the present form of government is superseded. There is no heir in the direct line; but Dom Duarte Nuno, heir in the Miguelist line, is a young man, at present living in Austria. He is known to be in sympathy with the work of Salazar. It is not altogether improbable that in 1942, when the-term of office of President Carmona comes to an end, the

Constitution will be adapted so that Portugal can receive him back; then will the historic Portugal be fully vindicated. General Carmona is an elderly man, and is in his second term of office, having been re-elected (by an even larger vote than before) in1935. It is unlikely that he will stand again. It is not impossible that in four years from now we shall have the Royal Houses restored both in Portugal and in Spain.

The restoration of the House of Braganza will not happen, of course, until all memories of the old party conflicts have been forgotten. The new Portugal does not tolerate political faction of any kind) it does not tolerate a Royalist faction. That is why, in November1937, Paiva Couceiro, leader of Royalist disturbances in 1911, 1912, and 1919, was expelled from the country. But in a speech in 1932, Salazar paid a handsome tribute to the memory of King Manoel and gave the impression that, when Portugal is ready, she will callback her Kings.

The Constitution of 1933 is divided into two parts. The first concerns "Fundamental Guarantees," it defines the functions of the State, the rights of citizens, the importance of the family, the principles governing the administration, and so on. In all that there is not likely to be significant change. Part II concerns "The Political Organization of the State:" it is that which we now have to describe, and which, as we surmise, may undergo revision in the future.

Article LXXI, which is the first of Part II, declares that "Sovereignty shall reside in the Nation. Its organs are the Head of the State, the National Assembly, the Government, and the Courts of Justice." It resides in the Nation, as distinct from being attributed to "the people"; that is, the old atomic liberalism has been replaced by a conception of society as an organic whole. It will be noted that although the Government is accounted an organ of sovereignty, the

Corporative Chamber is not so at present.

The Head of the State is the President of the Republic, who is elected by direct suffrage for a period of seven years, and is re-eligible, indefinitely: a valuable means for securing continuity of policy is thus provided. By Article LXXVIII, "The President of the, Republic shall be directly and exclusively responsible to the nation for actions performed in the exercise of his duties. In that and in his magistracy he shall be entirely independent of any vote of the National Assembly." He nominates the Prime Minister and other Ministers, who hold office subject to his will, and is empowered arbitrarily to dissolve the National Assembly "when the supreme interests of the Nation so require". He appears to hold very considerable power.

When we come to Article LXXXII, however, we find that "the acts of the President of the Republic must be counter signed by the President of the Council of Ministers, and by any other appropriate Minister or Ministers, failing which they shall ipso facto be null and void". Three exceptions only are made to this rule: no countersignature is required for the appointment or dismissal of the President of the Council of Ministers, for messages sent to the National Assembly, or for his own resignation.

Article LXXXIII provides for a Council of State to act in conjunction with the President of the Republican all important occasions, and to consist of the President of the Council of Ministers (to whom it is simpler and less confusing to refer as the Prime Minister), the Presidents of the, National Assembly, the Corporative Chamber, and the Supreme Court of justice, and "five public men of outstanding ability".

But it is not difficult to see that real power in the State lies with the Government, and that real power in the Government lies with the Prime Minister, despite the fact

that he can be dismissed at will by the President. That is, real power in Portugal today lies with Dr. Salazar.

"The Government," says Article CVII, "shall consist of the Prime Minister, who may conduct the affairs of one or more Ministries, and the Ministers." Salazar to-day holds the Ministries of Finance, War, and Foreign Affairs, in addition to the Premiership.

The Prime Minister shall be responsible to the President of the Republic for the general policy of the Government, and shall co-ordinate and direct the activities of all the Ministers, who shall be responsible to him for their "political acts" (Article CVIII). "The Government shall depend exclusively on the confidence of the President of the Republic, and the irretention of power shall not depend on the fate suffered by their bills, or on any vote of the National Assembly" (Article CXII). Members of the Government need not be drawn from the National Assembly; indeed, "Members of the National Assembly or of the Corporative Chamber who accept ministerial office shall not forfeit their mandates, but may not sit in their respective Chambers" (Article CX).

The National Assembly is the nominal legislature, but all legislation of importance comes in fact from the Government,. and there is every reason to suppose that the National Assembly is really intended if it is to be retained at all-as a check on the executive. It sits for only three months of the year and any member has the power to initiate any legislation that does not involve an increase in national expenditure or a decrease in national revenue; any legislation approved by an absolute majority of the Assembly is submitted to the President of the Republic for promulgation, which may be refused. And all legislation of consequence comes from the Government during the nine months of the year when the Assembly is not sitting, in the

form of Decree-Laws issued under Article CIX.

But if the National Assembly is not the normal legislative body, it sufficient power to act as an the. For effective check on the Government if necessary: that reason it is probable that it will be retained. In the first place, if a law that has been refused promulgation by the President is brought up again in the National Assembly, and, being voted on again, receives a two-thirds majority of the votes of all members, then the President cannot a second time withhold his assent. And in the second place, a Decree-Law issued by the Government must come before the National Assembly when next that body is in session, and if ratification is refused, then it ceases from that day to be valid.

The National Assembly consists of ninety members elected by direct suffrage. An elaborate system of holding the elections has been devised to obviate the possibility of the formation of any political parties. There are no constituencies. At least thirty days before an election, complete lists of ninety candidates, signed by at least two hundred electors, must be submitted to the Government. The names on all such lists submitted, if considered eligible, are published in alphabetical order in the official journal, the Diario do Governo, and in at least two other national newspapers. On the day of the election, voters cross off from these lists such candidates as they may not approve, thereby voting for the rest; they may not add names that do not appear. The ninety candidates whose names are uncrossed-off on the largest number of lists represent the personnel of the new Assembly. It is never likely to be a very truculent body, since the Government can reject any candidate deemed ineligible, and among the requirements is a profession of fidelity to the regime.

The Corporative Chamber exists, according to the original version of the Constitution, “to report and to give its

opinion in writing on all propositions or pro-sects of law which shall be presented to the National Assembly, before the opening of discussion thereupon" (Article CIII). By an amendment of March 1935, the phrase "in writing" was deleted, and the Chamber was required also to report "on all international conventions or treaties". In doing that it is clearly doing something more than providing technical advice on specialized subjects. Again, the Constitution originally laid down that it should sit only while the National Assembly was in session; but another amendment of the same date added that "in the intervals between legislative sessions, the Government shall be able to consult the specialized departments of the Corporative Chamber on decree-laws it is about to publish, or on laws it proposes to lay before the National Assembly". Both these amplifications seem to show that Salazar intends that, when the Corporations are properly organized, and the Portuguese Corporate State has got beyond its present transitional stage, the Corporative Chamber will be given wider scope. M. Freppel Cotta is of the opinion that "the National Assembly will be dispensed with, and the Chamber will act as the adviser of the Government, which will itself legislate".

That is not the opinion of the present writer: he prefers to think that the National Assembly will be retained, for reasons he has stated, but that the Corporative Chamber will become the chief legislative body. It is difficult to say definitely what is the intention of Salazar. In his speech of January 26, 1934, he spoke of the present position of the Corporative Chamber as "transitional;" and on December 9th of that year he delivered an important speech on the subject, in which he said definitely that he does not propose to abolish the Assembly without the preparation of a long experience"; on the other hand he ventured the opinion that in twenty years' time there will be no purely political

legislative assemblies left in Europe. We can but wait upon events. But it is at any rate clear that Portuguese corporatism, which gives the Corporative Chamber a voice in such matters as the conduct of foreign affairs, does not fall into the third of the three types distinguished by M. Manoilesco, and that it therefore represents something more than the" sane corporative system recommended by the present Pope.

"With a lively apprehension of its responsibility before the nation-the embodiment of all the material and moral achievements of past generations—the State is profoundly nationalist, popular without being demagogic, representative but anti 'democratic', strong but neither tyrannous nor all absorbing. Those words of Salazar describe his intentions is against "democracy" in the sense in which Portugal has known it: he has eradicated political liberalism together with economic liberalism. But the essence of his Government is that it is popular, and. It is inconceivable that M. Cotta is right in thinking that he proposes to give all legislative power to a government controlled only, and slightly at that, by a President elected every seven years. It is much more likely, whether or not the Assembly is retained, that the Corporative Chamber will be given something considerably more than a purely advisory capacity, even if it does not become the sole legislature, and that a real democracy will thereby be attained. The working of that democracy will be described in the next section of this chapter.

Those who disagree with or do not understand the idea of functional representation, and prefer a legislative assembly on the lines of the modem English House of Commons, would do well to remember that in its fourteenth-century origins, the English Parliament was a typically corporative body. That is to say, its members were not elected by a few

thousand miscellaneous citizens whom. fate had placed all within the same geographical area, but represented the Estates of the Realm, and were called to advise the King on those matters of which, from their positions in life, they had particular and personal interest. The idea of corporative democracy is an older thing, even in England, than the Liberal democracy that was for a century so tragically copied in Portugal. On June 30, 1930, Salazar delivered a speech to which the phrase "epoch-making" can accurately be applied, and which is "regarded as the Charter of the New State." The occasion was the founding of the Uniao National—the National Union—the organization of those who, renouncing all party politics, have pledged themselves to support Salazar in his work of national reconstruction. In this speech Salazar, who has been Finance Minister for two years, but has not yet become Prime Minister, describes the principles which the future of Portugal will follow. It is the first important occasion on which he has publicly associated himself with wider matters than his immediate work as specialist in economics and finance: it marks his emergence as the national leader.

He is more concerned with the political future than with social principles. "We know only too well, he said," that if the dictatorship were to go, and to give place to the rule of faction, it would mean the end of all the work of reconstruction, of all the possibilities of the present; the old causes of chaos and ruin would return, their destructive force accentuated by increased indiscipline, by exacerbated passions, by the collapse of all material and moral defenses against disorder-even to the extent of undermining the conditions necessary to the very existence of society." It was true; a rigorous dictatorship was an absolute necessity, if life was to be carried on at all, in the Portugal of those years following 1926. Every kind of revolutionary, and subversive

activity was being carried on against the Government, particularly by Communists and exiled politicians of the old regime. The most formidable attack Game in 1931, when riots and disturbances in Madeira, Portuguese Guinea, and the Azores involved a good deal of damage and loss of life. The plan was to make trouble in these places and indifferent parts of the country, so occupying the Government, compelling it to send troops abroad, diverting other troops to the country districts of Portugal, and laying Lisbon open to a coup d'etat. Nothing came of it, owing to the fact that Portugal was solidly behind Salazar; and The Times was frank enough to say: "It is common knowledge that this trouble is the work of Portuguese politicians in exile in Paris, and particularly of some of the former heads of the Portuguese Grand Orient."14

The Dictatorship, then, was an absolute necessity; nevertheless, it was never regarded by Salazar as more than a temporary expedient, to give place to constitutional government so soon as the new Constitution could be drawn up, and so soon as the smoldering animosities of the old liberal party system should have sufficiently died down. "-here is no doubt, said Salazar on the fourth anniversary of the national rising," that the dictatorship, even considered only as a restriction to the Government of the power to make laws, is a political formula; but one cannot say that it represents the lasting solution of the political problem; it is essentially a formula of transition.

"Since dictatorships often arise from conflict between authority and the abusers of liberty, and since they generally have recourse to measures restricting freedom of association and the freedom of the Press, dictatorship is often confused with tyranny. That is not its essence; and if liberty is understood as the full guarantee of the rights of all-to my mind the only true conception, of it then may

dictatorship, without sophistry, rival in this respect many regimes which go by the name of liberal. But it is in any case an almost unlimited power, and this fact makes it a very delicate instrument, which easily outlives its usefulness, and which can easily be abused. For this reason, it is important that it should not seek permanence."

That was in May 1930: and in the following month he made the celebrated speech to which we must now return, in which he outlined the theory of democracy which was to supersede the dictatorship when conditions should permit of it.

"The political liberalism of the nineteenth century," he said, created the 'citizen'-the individual isolated from the family, the class, the profession, the cultural milieu, from the economic whole to which he belonged-and gave him the optional right of taking part in the constitution of the Government. It was there that the source of national sovereignty was assumed to be.

"If we regard realities, we find ourselves confronted here with an abstraction-an erroneous or inadequate concept-and it is in turning towards the natural groups necessary to individual life, and upon which political life really depends, that the point of departure which we seek will be more surely found. The first of these is the family, the irreducible social unit, the original core of the parish, of the township, and therefore of the nation. Effectively protected in its formation, its preservation and development, 'the family ought to exercise, through the voice of its head, the right of electing the members of the administrative bodies, at least those of the parish, for that right is no more than the natural expression of the hearths and homes, with the common interests which are theirs.

Article XII of the Constitution consequently describes the family as "a fundamental of political and administrative

order, by its association in the parish and in the municipality, as well as by its representation in the local authorities governing these ‘. And Article XIX lays down that" the right of electing to the Parish Councils (juntas de freguesia) belongs exclusively to the families". But by Article XXI, In the political organization of the State, the parish councils shall take part in t1jg election of the municipal chambers and provincial councils, and in the constitution of the Corporative Chamber." Local administration is, in fact, the first interest of those specified in Article CH for representation in the Corporative Chamber, and at the present day it has more representatives there than any other. The family will thus be seen to, be fundamentally represented in the Corporative Chamber it has been called "the prototypal corporation".

Continuing to speak of ` the natural groups necessary to individual life, and upon which political life rely depends", Salazar turned to "the moral and. economic corporations, such as the Universities,—the scientific academies, the literary, artistic, and technical groups, the agricultural, industrial, commercial, colonial, and workers' associations"; vocational groups created, as he said, by the instinct of civilization, and which, in the words of Quadragesimo Anno, "are considered by many to be, if not essential to civil society, at least natural to it". These, said Salazar, "should participate by vote or by representation in the Chambers, which we wish to be truly are representative of the Nation. Once more we abandon action the Party-to make of a reality-the Association." And in Article XX of the Constitution we read: "All the component parts of the Nation shall be represented in the corporative organizations, through their appropriate organs, and it shall be their business to participate in the election of the municipal chambers and provincial councils, as well as in the

constitution of the Corporative Chamber."

"To sum up," said Salazar, "we seek to construct a social and corporative State corresponding exactly with the natural structure of society. The families, the parishes, the townships, the corporations, where all the citizens are to be found with their fundamental juridical liberties, are the organisms which make up the nation, and as such they ought to take a direct part in the constitution of the supreme bodies of the State. Here is an expression of the representative system that is more faithful than any other." Or, as he wrote on another occasion, "In the domain of political institutions the corporative organization is fundamental . . . the more this organization is developed, the more will the State represent more faithfully than it does today the Nation itself, as an organic entity."

So is the Corporative Chamber a body representative of the Nation. It is not merely a body representative of producers' interests: it integrally represents the Nation, producers and consumers alike. We have stated why we think that it is likely to become the chief legislative body in Portugal, and we have provided the necessary data. The reader must decide for himself whether he agrees.

THE COMING CORPORATE STATE

By ***Alexander Raven Thomson***

INTRODUCTION: Nature and Purpose of the Corporate State

PEOPLE REALISE THAT Fascism stands for the introduction of the "Corporate State." Many have a very hazy idea of what this is, how it is to be brought about, and in what manner it will function. To clear up these difficulties we must understand why Fascists think it necessary to substitute the new constitutional forms of the Corporate State for those of Financial Democracy. Such a fundamental change will amount to no less than a revolution; and, before a nation embarks upon such a drastic course, it must be convinced of the reason for so doing.

The cause is simple, for we find that "Democracy" is failing all over the world. Before we can set things right, we must understand why "Democracy" has failed. The failure is largely to be attributed to the mistaken belief in absolute individual "liberty," which has negatived all effective government and deprived the People of their essential freedom.

The Liberals of the last century introduced Democracy by a series of Reform Bills, but at the same time that they were granting political self-government, they were depriving political power of its last influence in economic matters by the Repeal of the Corn Laws and the Navigation Acts. While the people enjoyed the sham war of political controversy,

the economic and financial control of the country was passing rapidly into the hands of a few irresponsible individuals, who alone possessed the wealth and power to exploit their liberty at the expense of the community.

Today, when economic factors so obviously dominate all purely political considerations, this betrayal of democratic self-government becomes increasingly evident. Since the war the British electorate has called for certain social improvements, and a solution of the unemployment problem. Again and again political parties have made promises to effect the people's will, and when in office have been "unable" to carry out their pledges. It is easy to blame this failure on individual politicians, but it is the system which is at fault. With the best will, none of the old parties can hope to improve our economic distress, so long as they uphold the perverted tenets of individual liberty which deny them the power to rule, and condemn the bulk of the People to economic enslavement.

British Union demands the Corporate State as a means of effective economic government, without which all self-government can be no more than an illusion. Blackshirts will not be satisfied with the pomp and ceremony of Parliamentary procedure, and uniforms and emoluments of high political office. They will demand power to govern; power not merely to act as figureheads run by civil servants, but power to control and direct industrial and financial organisation.

In fact, British Union demands that the official government shall be the real government. Only such a government can fulfil the wishes of the people. Not only will it be possible to clear slums and cure unemployment, but the productive powers of the nation will be released to raise the standard of life of the entire community.

The Corporate State is a means of equating economic

forces to the needs of the. Nation. It is designed to end the chaos and disorder of the present economic system, and replace them by an organised economy. It is designed to break the hidden dictatorship of vested interests and alien financiers who exploit present conditions for their own benefit. These powers have driven Labour Governments out of office, they dictate the policies of National Governments, but they will never control a Corporate State.

The Corporate State is of a three-fold nature:-

(1) A PHILOSOPHIC CONCEPTION which recognises the nation as an organism of a higher order, transcending the individuals of which it is composed.

(2) AN ECONOMIC ORGANISATION which plans and develops industry along lines of functional service.

(3) A SOCIAL ORDER which maintains the family and freedom of Self-expression and initiative within the bounds of national well-being. We view the State as a united nation, as a functional expression of occupational groups; and finally, as a multitude of reproductive family units. We approach these aspects in this order:"

AUTHORITY, PROSPERITY AND FREEDOM, when AUTHORITY is the means by which the State is maintained as a social entity.

PROSPERITY is attained by the functional organisation of economic and industrial groups. FREEDOM is realised by the individual once he is released from political corruption and economic oppression to enjoy leisure for cultural self-expression.

This slogan differs materially from that of Democracy in this. Fascism recognises the desirability of individual freedom of expression and initiative, as a basis of healthy

social life, but it does not place this principle before all others, as does decayed Democracy. Individual freedom can only follow economic liberation. "Liberty," adopted as an over-riding principle, must inevitably degenerate into the capitalist system, or usuriocracy.

Furthermore, the slogan gives a useful synopsis of the British Union programme on attaining power.

First, central authority will be established by an enabling Bill, empowering the Government to rule by order in council.

Secondly, the Government will establish prosperity by planning both production and distribution.

Thirdly, with the advent of authority in government, and prosperity through planning in industry, the individual will gain for the first time that economic freedom which he has been denied by the Liberal capitalist system—security of work and wages, home and happiness, life and leisure. Individual, functional group, and nation as a whole, all find their healthy co-relation through the organisation of the Corporate State. It is in the perfection of this co-relation, or balance, within the State, that British Union finds scope for unending endeavour.

It is only by a clue synthesis of all three factors in the national life, giving a true balance to the interests of individual, group and nation, that we can attain our end. These three aspects of the Corporate State may be dealt with under the three headings: "politics," "economics" and "culture."

(1) POLITICAL.—Central government welding the nation together by the exercise of authority.

(2) ECONOMIC.—The science of organisational planning

upon functional lines for the production and distribution of wealth.

(3) CULTURAL.—The release of individual enterprise for more energy of invention and design. For the sake of convenience we take the economic aspect first, the political second and the cultural third, as it is in the sphere of economics that the most drastic changes must be made.

THE CORPORATIONS

The Corporate State is based upon industrial or occupational organisation rather than the regional or geographical method of government used today. This feature runs through the whole system, both of Government and representation, and must be grasped as a fundamental before the real nature of the Corporate State can be appreciated. The regional administration of Democracy is largely replaced by functional industrial organisation on a vocational basis.

British Union seeks a more effective means of self-government. Turning from the local administration of the urban borough and the rural district, the Corporate State endows industries and occupations with new powers of self-government. These powers are exercised in the same manner as those of local authorities today. In the position of the borough council we have the industrial corporation, which possesses the right to pass by-laws binding upon the industry as a whole, just as the council can pass by-laws for the borough.

Hitherto all attempts at industrial planning have broken down because of the difficulty of compelling an industry to fulfil agreements. In the Corporate system decisions arrived at by the corporation will be legally binding, and any breach will be punishable at law.

Within the Corporate State every great industry, and

groups of smaller industries and professions, will be controlled by such a Corporation giving the industry powers of economic self-government. The following is a list of Corporations, which would be required to control the economic system.

A—PRIMARY PRODUCTS.

1. Agricultural. 2. Fishing. 3. Mining and Fuel. 4. Iron and Steel. 5. Metal Trade.

B—INDUSTRIAL.

6. Engineering. 7. Printing and Paper Trade. 8. Shipbuilding. 9. Textiles.: 10. Leather and Rubber. 11. Glass and Pottery. 12. Chemicals. 13. Woodworking and Furnishing. 14. Clothing.

C.—DISTRIBUTIVE.

15. Building. 16. Public Utilities. 17. Transport. 18. Shipping and Docks. 19. Wholesale and Retail Trades.

D.—ADMINISTRATIVE, ETC.

20. Banking and Insurance. 21. Civil Service.

22. Professional. 23. Art and Entertainment. 24. Domestic. 25. Pensioners.

These Corporations would, in their turn, be split up into smaller groups functioning in single industries within the main category, but would represent the whole industrial section in relation to the. central government.

We now turn to the typical Corporation, and see in what manner it is organised and how it will function. There will be represented on the Corporation employers, workers and consumers. Each group will be given equal representation and equal power, and may not be outvoted by the other two.

Sane functioning of the nation as a whole can only be

attained by collaboration between the various industrial factors, not by their mutual hostility, as supposed by the Manchester school of economists.

The employers' representatives will be elected by the owners, partners and directors in the business enterprises of the industry, and by those engaged in a managerial capacity or in executive office. They will represent the organising side and will form an employers' federation. Association to this employers' federation will be compulsory upon every business enterprise, which will contribute a yearly subscription proportional to the number of its employees, and submit itself to the disciplined control of the federation.

The workers' representatives will be elected by all employees, whatever their function, including clerical staff (excepting only those engaged in a managerial capacity mentioned above). They will form a trade union embracing every worker, but confined entirely to these. The principle of Trade Unionism is entirely retained, and advanced to 100 per cent. Stripped of their obnoxious and irrelevant political activities the Unions will play an essential part in the organisation of the Corporate State.

The consumers' representatives cannot be elected like the others, as consumers may very well be scattered broadcast. Actually the nation itself is the ultimate consumer in the case of most products and, therefore, the Government, as representative of the nation, is best fitted to nominate the consumers' representatives. Reputable persons will be chosen to represent the interests of the ultimate consumer, and these will hear the grievances and suggestions of anyone who is affected by the working of the industry in question. In many cases other industries are big consumers, when the Government will appoint representatives to be nominated by the Corporations controlling these industries to watch over their interests.

It is through these corporate institutions that a rationalised expression of opinion will be realised in keeping with the modern age. For the first time all members of every industry will have their share in the control of the great economic factors of their daily life. By electing trustworthy representatives they will choose not some vague general Party policy—to be conveniently forgotten by politicians in office—but will determine, in common with the other factors of production, the conditions of their daily work, the remuneration for their service and the planning and regulation of their own trade or professio

THE NATIONAL CORPORATION

Economists and sociologists will recognise that, in effect, the system of the Corporate State closely resembles Syndicalism as advanced by revolutionary thinkers during the nineteenth century. True, the new syndicalism is divested of its original class-conscious outlook, and incorporates employers with workers in its system, but the basis remains syndicalist and in Italy both employers' and workers' organisations are termed "syndicates."

The argument which defeated the original Syndicalists was that they made insufficient allowance for central government. They wished to invest each syndicate with self-governing powers, and assumed that they would arrange for a mutual distribution of their products by negotiation. Obviously tendencies would then arise for each industry to attempt to exploit the community, possibly by means of restricted output, which would mean merely replacing the class war by an internecine industrial conflict.

British Union will take strong measures to prevent this danger arising, and the Corporate State may be defined as a syndicalist system upon which has been superimposed a powerful central government. The consumers'

representatives described in the last article are an indication of the check and control which Fascism exerts over any tendencies to exploit the nation.

The consumers' representatives are in a certain sense the delegates of central authority, to give warning of any unjustifiable raising of prices or restricting of output. They are, however, backed up by a central economic council, which crowns the industrial structure of the Corporate State. This general economic council is the National Corporation, which comprises representatives from every Corporation, and centralises the administration of the whole system. The Corporations themselves are not only diversified by their different industrial functions, but they will certainly in many cases have their administrative centres in the provinces.

For example, we must expect to find the following Corporations having their seats in the following towns:-

Shipping Corporation: Liverpool.

Leather Trades Corporation: Northampton.

Glass and Pottery Corporation: Stoke-on-Trent.

Textile Corporation: Manchester.

Shipbuilding Corporation: Glasgow.

Metal Trades Corporation: Birmingham.

iron and Steel Corporation: Middlesbrough.

Mining Corporation: Cardiff.

Fisheries Corporation: Grimsby.

Agricultural Corporation: York.

Though the remaining thirteen might be situated in London, many category councils will have provincial seats, jute at Dundee, cutlery at Sheffield, etc.

It will be the duty of the National Corporation to co-

ordinate activities in the interests of the national welfare. The National Corporation will be elected upon the same principle as are the Corporations. Each will nominate equal numbers of employers and workers. The number of members from each Corporation will not be equal, but will be weighted in accordance with the importance of the industry to the national welfare. The total of members will, however, be kept as low as possible.

Its function will be executive and administrative, as distinct from the occupationally elected House of Commons, which will be legislative. All controversies within the individual Corporations, which cannot be settled by compromise, will be referred to the National Corporation for settlement according' to the public interest. Disputes between individual Corporations will also come before the National Corporation, which will exercise a judicial capacity. The task of industrial planning on a national scale will be vested in the National Corporation, which will adjust consumption to production by its control over wage rates throughout the industrial field. Similarly, the control over the Investment Board, the Foreign Trade Board, and other important corporate institutions, will be exercised by this national economic council. All broad economic issues will come before this body, which will include the best executive brains of industrial and professional life of the country, sitting as an advisory council to the Minister of Corporations, who will act as speaker and control the deliberations of the assembly.

The first task of the National Corporation must be to solve the economic quandary of so-called "over-production," which is bound up with that of unemployment. The problem is essentially one of organisation, and refutes the suggestion made by modern defeatists that unemployment is the inevitable result of rationalisation, Socialists actually

suggest that machines should be put on the dole; a return to the policy of the machine-wreckers of over a hundred years ago. Surely man can establish his mastery over modern technique?

To take a simple analogy, we will suppose there are twenty families on an island in the Pacific, who by the use of primitive methods of agriculture can feed themselves by eight hours' work a day. Were a passing philanthropist to supply them with a plough, he would be introducing rationalisation. The islanders would find that fifteen families could now supply the needs of the community. If they were foolish enough to follow the methods of Western Civilisation, they would condemn five of their families to unemployment, and supply them with just sufficient food to keep them alive, according to the calculations of the medicine-man of the island. The most primitive savages would scarcely be as foolish as this. They would quickly learn that by a readjustment of the hours of work to six a day instead of eight, all would have employment and would enjoy more leisure.

It will be seen from this simple analogy that the problem of rationalisation is a problem of organisation. The advance of modern science can bring either greater wealth or greater leisure, or a sane combination of both. The planned state is required to meet the problem of rationalisation by organised methods. We do not necessarily propose a wholesale shortening of hours of work, but rather an increase in the standard of life. The means used will be largely financial, through higher wages and salaries and putting a larger volume of currency and credit into free circulation. We shall have to break with the gold standard and set up a managed currency, but this involves no real danger of inflation in a planned and disciplined State.

The issue is a simple one. Modern science enables us to

produce enormous quantities of goods, and it is purely muddle and inefficiency in our economic system if these goods are denied to those who need them. The success of a planned State is in the degree in which it can distribute the products of industry to the people; the need is evidenced by the fact that the Liberal-Capitalist system is incapable of solving that problem. The Corporate State will not be set up in order to stabilise the present status quo, but to release the full powers of modern production for the benefit of all sections. Within such a State we can give an absolute guarantee that the problem of unemployment will be finally and permanently sol

INDUSTRIAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

The Corporations have important duties within the structure of the State. These may be divided into three general categories. Regulative, Planning and Social. Each Corporation must regulate the relations between the various factors of production in the industry it controls; it must also plan the development of the industry or the closing down of redundant plant; finally, it must take heed of the social amenities of those engaged in the industry, their industrial insurance, superannuation, etc. To begin with the regulative function, we have the relation between the three main groups of employers, workers and consumers. At present employers and workers are opposing armies threatening one another with the destructive, anti-social weapons of the strike and lock-out. In the planned State neither can be tolerated, and all questions of wages, hours and conditions of work will be settled. between employers' and workers' representatives on the Corporation.

Early in the formation of the Corporate State, the National Corporation will call upon every industrial Corporation to prepare their codes of wages, hours and

conditions of work, which shall be legally binding upon every member of the industry, master or man. In the preparation of these codes, the consumers' representatives will act as intermediaries between the two parties, and make every endeavour to bring about an amicable agreement. If they fail, the National Corporation will intervene with suggestions, and in the last resort the matters in dispute will go before a Labour Court for compulsory arbitration.

Similarly as between employers and consumers, questions of prices, terms of competition, output, etc., will be settled by mutual agreement. Any attempt of employers and workers to combine to restrict production and extort unreasonable profits and wages will be combated by the consumers' representatives, who can appeal to the National Corporation to intervene in the public interest. The return upon invested capital in the form of dividends and other payments will also be the subject of regulation, as workers and consumers will resist too great a share going to capital. Here the National Investment Board will prove useful, as it will publish from time to time a guiding figure of the requisite return upon secure investment to maintain a steady economic flow of national saving. Investors will have a right to claim a higher return in respect of previous losses and insecurity in the case of speculative ventures, which will all be taken into consideration. In the event of failure to reach an agreement the investors will have a right of appeal to the Investment Board.

In regard to the planning of industry on a large scale, the Corporation will consider the advisability of the expansion or contraction of the industry it controls. Where the industry has been successful and the demand for its products increasing, expansion in the public interest is necessary. The Corporation will apply to the Investment Board for capital, and the Board will encourage and

authorise the flotation of new concerns. The workers' representatives will make arrangements for the necessary new trained workers, while the consumers' representatives will advise on the marketing.

For the first time representatives of workers and consumers will enter into partnership with employers in the planning of the industry in which they are so intimately concerned. In those unfortunate cases of industries which owing to the advance of science are superseded by new inventions, the inevitable contraction can be carried out with the minimum of hardship in a planned system. By mutual agreement redundant plant will be closed down, the employers compensated and the displaced workers transferred by means of Government training centres to other expanding industries in need of men.

The tremendous scope for useful action is not completed with the above, as the social development of the Corporate State is perhaps its most important feature. In Italy, the Dopolavoro, or "After-Work" recreation, is one of the most startling innovations to foreign eyes, and the German Labour front is developing apace the amazing "Strength through Joy" organisation. In this country the same methods will undoubtedly be carried even further with the greater resources at our disposal. Already many progressive firms have their own recreation facilities for their employees. These desirable enterprises will be co-ordinated into a general system of recreation in which all members may take part. The Corporations will maintain their own industrial insurance and superannuation schemes, which will produce pensions for all employees commensurate with the service they have rendered the industry during their working lifetime. This will be more, satisfactory than the pensions offered by many private concerns today, which are lost if the employee leaves to join another firm.

The field for industrial self-government and regulation for mutual benefit is only too evident. The Corporate State is the only means of realising the advantages of such a system, without the destructive, anti-social features of the Class War, which are so repugnant to all fair-minded Englishmen.

ECONOMIC JUSTICE

Despite our immense advantage in some respects over other-countries, we do not feel entirely satisfied with our legal system. However incorruptible our judges may be, they can only administer the Law as it exists, and the Law is biased in favour of the owner of property. Indeed, the Law is mainly concerned in defining-the rights of property and protecting the property owner. Our system of Law is the bulwark erected by bourgeois society to protect the interests of those who have. Behind this barrier financiers and capitalists exert their full money power, secure in the knowledge that bourgeois Law maintains their right to the ownership and use of their wealth, even when it is used against the public interest.

What we require today is economic justice; justice as between the various factors of industry. Employers, workers, consumers are at present occupied in a bitter conflict each for their own interests. It will be the duty of Corporate justice to bring economic life within the bounds of law and order.

Under financial democracy morality has sunk to a low ebb. It is a case of "eat, or be eaten" in the fierce struggle of modern commercial competition.

There is little cause to be proud of "success" when "success" is attained at the expense of others. Darwinian survival in the realm of nature may have tended to improve the species: economic survival in the realm of commerce seems to degenerate the race. The predominance of is not

surprising—they possess the attributes suitable to survival under these conditions. Corporate justice will go beyond the bourgeois conception of protection of property, indeed it will lay down the conditions under which property may be owned. A man may by no means do what he likes with his own. If he possesses great wealth, he bears a grave responsibility that that wealth is used to the public benefit.

Private ownership and initiative is encouraged, but the individual is required to consider public welfare as well as private interest. Liberal atavism, which held that in serving his own interests the individual automatically advanced the interests of the community, has been discredited, and we now turn from the laws of the jungle to the laws of man.

Economic justice will be the first object of the Corporate State. The Corporations have been devised for the express purpose of regulating all the factors in industry in accordance with justice. The British Union sets its face sternly against class war and cut-throat competition. Strikes and lockouts will be prohibited as crude resorts to force where justice should hold sway in a dispute over ownership of property we do not permit force, why then in a dispute over wage rates and conditions of labour?

The workers will no longer need to resort to direct action to enforce respect for agreements, but will be enabled to bring suit against the offending employer before the Courts by ordinary legal means. Similarly, agreements as to prices and terms of competition will be negotiated between representatives of employers and consumers. No industry will be permitted to force up prices (by restricting production) beyond what is a fair return for labour and investment, commensurate with that in other industries. Once prices and terms of competition have been negotiated and approved by the Minister of Corporations, they will be given legal standing, and anyone undercutting or indulging

In any other form of unfair competition will be guilty of an offence for which he can be arraigned before an Industrial Court.

The above outlines the first beginnings of ordered economic justice. The very first crudities of present economic relationships will be regulated; but the code of economic justice will be extended to social insurance, child welfare, superannuation and other means of safeguarding the individual against economic mishap.

No longer will it be possible for an honest workman, dismissed through no fault of his own, to sink lower and lower in the social scale of despair and misery. No longer will a black-coated worker, faithful servant for twenty years or more, be dismissed with a week's or month's wages. No longer will a small tradesman face the cut-throat competition of a multiple store suddenly planted down beside his shop.

All these will turn confidently to Corporate economic justice, which will safeguard them against unfair treatment and unfair competition at the hands of even the wealthiest and most powerful interests.

FOREIGN TRADE BOARD

Even people prepared to accept the need of a higher wage standard in order to build up an adequate home market fear the effect of higher wage costs on our export trade. They claim that, desirable as a higher standard of life may be, it would lead to an "unfavourable" balance of trade presumed to be fatal.

Actually, as every finance ridden country is now attempting to export more than it imports in a cut-throat endeavour to dispose of goods it cannot sell at home, British trade has been falling away rapidly of recent years. Other countries are trying to produce and manufacture as many of

their own needs as they can.

This need not trouble us. It is time we turned our productive capacity to our own benefit, instead of to the enrichment of international financiers. By raising the purchasing power and standard of life of the home country and of our Imperial Dominions we shall find adequate markets without selling our products to foreigners.

All we have to consider is our needs in raw products and foodstuffs unobtainable within the Empire. Lord Beaverbrook insists that these are negligible, as the Empire provides practically everything we need. We are inclined to agree with him, but: for a period it may be necessary to depend upon certain foreign raw products and foodstuffs, until our home and imperial resources have been developed. How are we to pay for these, if, owing to a higher standard of wages we cannot compete with cheap Oriental labour?

The answer is that the organisation of the Corporate State gives us a bargaining power never before realised. This country handles the greatest buying power the world has known; the needs of an industrial population of over 40,000,000 people. Yet this buying power has never-been mobilised as a means of advancing our interests as an exporting nation. We shall approach those nations which desire to sell us quantities of raw materials and foodstuffs with the condition "Britain buys from those who buy from Britain." This will be no empty political slogan, but will be effectively enforced. The National Corporation will set up a Foreign Trade Board, which will regulate foreign trade. The importer will no longer be at liberty to import regardless of the national welfare, but will place his orders with those countries which are prepared to offer a market for British exports. By these means an effectively balanced trade will be established, based not upon maximal exports, but upon minimal imports.

We need have no fear of foreign producers refusing to do business on these terms, for these are the people who are suffering most severely from "overproduction" and would rather have even a smaller quantity of British goods in return for their products than burn them or dump them in the sea. It is time we organised our united power to enforce that respect on world markets to which we, as the premier commercial nation, are entitled.

THE INVESTMENT BOARD

The hidden dictatorship of finance operating from the City of London has been one of the major causes of the economic decline of this country. The great financial houses of the City have entirely refused to recognise their responsibilities towards the British nation, and have directed their immense resources into foreign investment detrimental to the interests of our own industries. Taking-advantage of freedom to export capital, these financiers, many of alien origin, have floated loans for every conceivable foreign interest and have starved British industry of capital and credit. With the advent of the Corporate State this financial tyranny will be broken once and for all by a Government armed with authority to carry out the people's will for the people's good. An Investment Board will be set up to control and regulate all future flotations. The membership will consist of trusted Government officials, representatives of banking and insurance, and the Patents Office.

Its duty will be to review every new flotation, and all applications for further credits. When satisfied, the Investment Board will issue a license, without which any application to the public for investment will be illegal. All further foreign lending without special sanction will be prohibited. We have wasted enough money in that direction,

for where we have not lost our capital we have been setting up our competitors in business.

Even in the case of investments in this country the license will not be issued without full investigation. The general public must be protected from unscrupulous exploitation. The Investment Board will not only test the financial reliability of proposed flotations, but will investigate whether further investment in the field in question is in the public interest. For this purpose the Board will consult with the corporation controlling the industry.

This licensing of investment to protect the investing public and to direct it into the most useful channels is not the only duty of the Investment Board. Another is that of controlling and regulating the volume of saving in the community for future investment. In the present economic system saving has little relation to the needs of investment. Owing to personal insecurity under the present system and the excessive reward frequently extorted by capital, saving has generally been excessive.

When investment is practically at a standstill, saving has nevertheless been extensive, and fatuous politicians have congratulated a half-fed nation on this deflection of its income from spending to saving. Under the Corporate State the Investment Board will regulate saving and spending' according to the needs of the nation and its resources.

Usury in the form of a fixed rate of interest on loans and debentures without risk will be discouraged, and the load of debt upon nation and industry lifted by this means. Such loan capital will in all deserving cases be repaid, but will no longer be permitted to accumulate an interest charge which is entirely unearned by service.

Finally, the field of its activities is not confined to this country. It will also take part in the planned development of Imperial resources. The Board will be open to proposals for

investment within the Empire, but in granting permission for the flotation of enterprises overseas will communicate with the emigration authorities to negotiate the immigration, where possible of British labour into the Dominion in question to compensate for the increased labour demand and the grant of financial assistance. Emigration must follow investment in our planned Imperial system, until the present over-population of the Motherland is compensated by the full development of our Dominions and Colonies overseas.

PROTECTING THE INVENTOR

British inventors and inventions have been scandalously treated under the present industrial and financial system. It is notorious, that in many cases they have been driven abroad, because of the impossibility of getting adequate financial support at home. The excuse is the traditional conservatism of the British character but we refuse to believe that the slogan of "Safety First" interprets the real spirit of the British people. It is not through lack of enterprise, but because of grave defects in our system.

(1) Except for the Patent Office, which merely registers the fact that the invention is a novel one, there is no official body of trained technicians and scientists to decide on the value and practicability of the invention.

(2) Our banks through amalgamation and exaggerated caution have become mere bureaucratic moneylender's on security, differing in no essential aspect from pawnbrokers. They have ceased to lend money even on business prospects and personal character, and so refuse with abhorrence to finance any such risky proposition as an invention.

Although it is possible to float a company to finance an industrial venture based upon a new invention, that

invention must be a practical marketable proposition. There is no means of obtaining support from the first experimental stage to maturity.

The result is that the unfortunate inventor is at the mercy of the private financier or the industrial combine. As notoriously, inventors are both poor and unbusinesslike, they are incapable of coping with the wiles of either one or the other. In many cases they find themselves with a splendid idea, which they can exhibit through a working model, but without the means of carrying out the experiments on a large scale which are necessary to make the invention a practical proposition. What can an inventor do in such a position? Through patent agents, etc., he must seek to interest some private financier in his idea, who will undertake to finance the necessary experiments. This financier has the inventor in the hollow of his hand and can strike the most unfair bargain with him. Some of the greatest inventions have brought their inventors practically nothing.

Every inventor is proud of his invention, and will resist any attempt at its suppression. The private financier, on the other hand, merely regards the process as a business transaction, and in many cases inventions have been used merely as instruments for the extortion of vast sums from vested interests which would suffer from their development. Several great combines have been serious offenders in this direction, buying up and suppressing many patents, which might have been most beneficial to the nation as a whole, simply because their development would have put large stocks of goods and machinery out of date.

Scarcely any body of men have suffered so severely from corruption as have inventors, upon whom we depend for ultimate material progress and even for existence in the stress of war. We should be proud of inventors and give

them assistance and encouragement in their work for the community. A British Union Government would take vigorous steps to help inventors by setting-up the following institutions:

(1) A Board of Scientific Research associated with the Patents Office to investigate every promising invention and advise upon its practicability and value.

(2) The Investment Board would consider the report and find the funds to carry the invention from the experimental stage to the point where a public company could be floated to bring the new patent on to the market.

By these means the inventor would receive direct assistance at a much earlier stage than he does today, and would no longer be at the mercy of the financier. It may be argued that this method is bureaucratic, and technical experts are often the first to condemn new inventions. The staff of the advisory board would, however, contain objective scientific workers, and the whole system would work as an additional aid to inventors, not as an entire substitute for present methods. In the exceptional case of the invention, which is so novel or ingenious that it fails to meet with expert approval, the inventor could still fall back upon private investment, which would be by no means excluded from this field.

On no account would a British Union Government permit the purchase of valuable patents by vested interests and their entire suppression.

FINANCE

Nowhere is the decline of any functional concept of occupational responsibility so evident in the modern economic structure as in the matter of finance. Some manufacturers of shoes still have at least some idea that

shoes are not only made to be sold, but also to be worn, and strive to produce serviceable footwear. Purveyors of money have apparently no thought for the use of money, but only, for its negotiation.

Money in itself has only one function, and that is to facilitate the exchange of goods and services and thus to distribute production. How many bankers have any conception of, let alone care for, this use of money?

If you ask a bank manager on what he bases his policy, he will answer, first, the security of his depositors; second, the profits of his shareholders; third, if at all, the development of industry. None of these points has any direct bearing upon the use of money as a means of exchange, which is its vital function. Bankers think of money as a thing apart, and develop their policy as if banking existed only for its own sake. During the last depression, they declared dividends of from 12 to 18 per cent, despite the large ground rents and depreciation they had to pay on their palatial premises. The banking profession is proud of its success in coming through the depression triumphantly by drastic restriction of money and credit, which has strangled industry and trade.

British Union is determined to bring banking and finance in this country to a proper concept of a functional responsibility towards the community as a whole. Monetary policy cannot be directed entirely on the basis of the interests of bank depositors and shareholders, but must take into account the need of adequate money and credit to finance the exchange of goods and services. Warehouses and stores are now choked—with goods, millions of men and women are offering their services without response. Obviously there is a lack of the means of exchanging these goods and services; money could provide this means; but money is locked away in the vaults and ledgers of our banking and financial institutions, and is not used.

A British Union Government would break this artificial stringency, and release sufficient money and credit to assure the sale of unsold goods, and the employment of unused services taking the advice of all prominent experts on this important task of mobilising the national credit, including such famous credit reformers as Major Douglas.

"A terrible risk!" your financial expert will cry. "Sure to lead to inflation and panic!" Under Democracy it would, but British Union Government has no intention of perpetuating the chaos of democratic capitalism, subject to the booms and crises of mass hysteria. Under these conditions it is not surprising that British bankers have insisted upon excessive stability and a "sound" currency. The Corporate system will transfer the stability to the economic structure as a whole.

Instead of planning finance for itself alone, British Union plans the whole economic system, brings it under scientific control, and renders it immune to depression and panic which sweep at intervals through the individualist system. Such corporate stability is far more valuable than mere financial stability, for what is the advantage of financial security at the expense of political and social security.

British Union does not contemplate nationalisation, but will place banking, finance and insurance under the supervision of a financial corporation, which will be responsible to the Government. This corporation will direct monetary and financial policy in accordance with Corporate principles, placing service to the national interest before personal or sectional interests, solving the problem of financing the consumption of goods and services on the present scale of production and then turning to the further development of industry.

Present money issues are inadequate for financing—the high standard of life rendered possible by modern scientific and technical accomplishment, so British Union

Government would break any connection with gold, and base currency upon a commodity basis. The Bank of England would be brought under strict, state control and empowered to issue this new currency in accordance with productive capacity. The present anomaly of a Bank of England note which bears a direct lie as superscription, would be removed, and notes issued as legal tender, with the security of the Corporate organisation that they will always purchase a fair pound's worth of commodities.

The remainder of the banking system would be brought into line and an entirely new policy adopted, by means of which bankers will be enabled to encourage consumption as well as production. At present, owing to the complete absence of planning, it is impossible for bankers to finance a higher standard of life, but with the development of corporative organisation, discipline and control, a general raising of purchasing power would become possible.

The Financial Corporation will bear a greater responsibility than any other, and for this reason will come under more strict governmental direction. It is imperative that the nation should control its own monetary and financial affairs, and prevent their falling again into the hands of the selfish and irresponsible minority—largely alien or bound up in alien interests—which at present dictates financial policy.

Money power is the greatest economic power in the modern world; such power should only be in the hands of clean and responsible Government, empowered by the people to use it in the national interest.

CHARTER OF LABOUR

THIS balanced system of co-operation between the factors of economic life must emerge from the present conflict between producer and consumer, debtor and

creditor, employer and worker. It will be no easy task to end the conflict which capitalism has brought about. Liberalism, with its hideous doctrines of greed and self-interest, poorly disguised as liberty, equality and fraternity, must be completely eradicated from the public mind. In its place, British Union must set co-operation, service and patriotism, with the final realisation that no citizen may permanently enrich himself to the detriment of the nation.

The most difficult problem is the class war between employers and workers fought so bitterly today. British Union will unite worker, small trader, and honest producer in a common onslaught upon the tyranny of high finance realising that the employers have common interests with the workers in the attainment and maintenance of a higher standard of life. Nevertheless, the workers recognising their relative weakness will be chary of abandoning the strike weapon and entering into any system of co-operation. We may say that an earthly paradise has arrived as the result of the advent of the Age of Plenty, and that the economic lions will lie down with the economic lambs. The workers will still retort, "Yes, with us inside?" We must make it clear that we have trimmed the capitalist lien's claws and pulled his financial teeth.

The class war can only be ended by a treaty of peace, between the opposing forces. British Union as the great pacific force will act as mediator and draft the terms of agreement in a solemn Charter of Labour on some such terms as given below.

A. An emphatic statement of the philosophic principle of the united corporate nation, to which everyone, employer and worker alike, owes a duty of service in return for an assured and just reward.

B. Establishment of employers' and workers'

organisations with full powers to negotiate national wage and hours agreements for each industry. (100 per cent Trade Unionism.)

C. Creation of judiciary bodies to settle disputes between employers and workers, and the consequent abolition of all strikes and lock-outs. (Judges aided by trade assessors.)

D. Safeguard of workers' interests by insistence upon:

i Compulsory weekly and yearly holiday on pay.

ii. Compulsory payment of overtime rates, and limitation of standard hours of work.

iii. Regulation of piece time rates to enable average man to earn standard washes at least.

iv. Election and recognition of shop stewards in every concern employing more than a limited number of employees,

v. Compensation for worker or employee of long service upon dismissal (or death) prior to superannuation,

vi. Equal pay for men and women doing similar work and no dismissal upon marriage.

vii. Holiday on full pay for mothers upon birth of a child,

viii. Workers' and employees' claims to have preference in the event of bankruptcy.

E. Joint organisation by employers and workers as follows:

i. Special labour exchange for each industry or craft situated in the trade union offices.

ii. Craft training to improve quality, output, and efficiency

iii. Superannuation schemes based upon status

reached (similar to present civil service pensions),

iv. Pooling of all after-work recreation schemes and their development by the Corporation.

v. Educational and holiday schemes, especially for the young in unpleasant industrial surroundings.

vi. Housing schemes in relation to employment, especially where new industries are being developed.

F. Unemployment and health insurance to be conducted by the State, subject to the following conditions:

i. Benefit payments to depend upon status in industry of recipient,

ii. No means test. Only disqualification: refusal of work at trade union rates. No time limit for benefit.

iii. Special national medical service to study and eradicate industrial disease, with generous compensation for victims meantime.

This is the form of agreement that will be entered into by employers, workers, and State for the final settlement of the class war. There is no mention of the "minimum wage," so beloved of class war Socialists, for this is merely a defensive weapon against exploitation, which will no longer be needed in the Corporate State. On the contrary, the workers will enjoy full partnership in industry, taking their full share of profits in the form of advancing wage rates. A standard wage rate for unskilled labour may well emerge, but skilled labour in each industry will be paid according to its own just schedule negotiated between employers' federation and trade union, and will depend upon the prosperity of the industry itself.

It is also necessary to insist upon the removal of present

trade union restrictions upon production, as these defensive measures will become absurd with the solution of the unemployment problem by scientific organisation and the adjustment of the hours of work. Once the trade unionist appreciates that he is a true partner, he will realise that efficient production is in his own interest, and will use every endeavour to increase output and prevent waste. So is it possible to lay at rest the misgivings of the workers, and make a just and lasting peace to end the miserable conflict of the class war.

POLITICAL—OCCUPATIONAL FRANCHISE

REGARDLESS of its impotence in economics democracy has proved a complete failure even in politics. Far be it from us to condemn the general principle that the people should control their own destinies. As far as this is the meaning of the ancient Greek word "democracy" we do not complain, but it is obvious that financial-democracy is far from satisfactory in attaining this end.

The error lies in the unnatural principle of equality, which has led to the absurd institution of the universal franchise. Men are not, and never will be equal. This is not to say that Fascism advocates a return to the theories of aristocracy. Heredity plays only a moderate part in the development of the human individual. Great men are as likely to come as the sons of peasants as of landowners. Inequality is not so much the result of birth, as of environment finding out and accentuating minor differentiations of character and ability in the service of society. We need engineers, doctors, pilots, musicians, chemists, soldiers, just as much as we need leaders; and even the haphazard organisation of modern society aids us in finding and training them.

The absurdity comes in treating these many different varieties of the genus, man, as equals. Having spent unending trouble in training men to perform a variety of functions, society undoes much of its work by giving them an "equal" voice in the government of their country.

This is an insult! To tell a seaman, that for the purposes of democratic government a farm labourer's opinion of shipping problems is as good as his own, is insulting; just as insulting as to tell a farmer that a seaman's opinion upon agricultural problems is as valuable as his. Yet this is precisely what universal franchise does. It makes no allowance for specialised knowledge, but counts all noses alike.

British Union distinguishes between a seaman and a farmer, a doctor and an engineer, and will not regard their opinions as of equal value upon every subject. British Union will consult seamen on shipping, farmers on agriculture, doctors on health, engineers on engineering, and not waste time by asking all of them their opinion on the other man's business. This is mere sanity in this age of specialisation, if all self-government is not to fail.

The Corporate State extends the vocational principle to politics. Industrial self-government for the Corporations. Occupational Franchise for Parliament. Members will be elected to represent definite trades and callings. A farmer will vote for a farmer, a miner for a miner and so forth. Minor trades and professions of an allied nature will combine to return joint members. On the analogy of the Groups will be formed: 1. (Agriculture). 2. (Fishing). 3. (Mining). 4. (Iron and Steel). 5. (Metals). 6. (Engineering). 7. (Printing). 8. (Shipbuilding). 9. (Textiles). 10. (Leather). 11. (Pottery). 12. (Chemicals). 13. (Furnishing). 14. (Clothing). 15. (Building). 16. (Public Utilities). 17. (Transport). 18. (Shipping), 19. (Distributive). 20. (Financial). 21. (Civil

Service). 22. (Professional). 23. (Art and Entertainment). 24. (Domestic). 25. (Pensioners). Corporations the following Occupational Farmers, farm labourers. Fishermen. Coal Owners, miners. Iron Masters, iron workers. Metal manufacturers, metal workers. Machine manufacturers, engineers. Publishers, printers. Shipbuilders, shipyard workers. Textile manufacturers, textile workers. Leather manufacturers, boot and shoe operatives, etc. Porcelain and glass manufacturers, potters and glass blowers. Chemical manufacturers, chemists. Furnishers, wood and upholstery workers. Clothiers, tailors and seamstresses. Contractors, builders. Municipal officials and workers. Transport organisers, railway men, transport workers, airmen. Ship-owners, seamen. Wholesalers, shopkeepers, distributive workers, co-operatives. Bankers, insurance, brokers, clerks. Civil Servants. Doctors, lawyers. Entertainers, artists. Housewives, domestic servants. Ex-servicemen, retired people.

Certain Occupational Groups will be split up into sub-groups to allow for the special representation of important interests. Thus the Cotton and Woollen Industries will be separately represented within the Textile Group, and seats especially reserved for women to represent the women operatives so prominent in these industries. On the other hand in such homogeneous industries as agriculture, mining, the distributive trades, zoning will be resorted to in order to allow for the representation of special local differentiation of opinion and conditions.

The several great coalfields will be separately represented, and large agricultural areas, such as East Anglia, Scotland, etc, given their own members.

By this means we shall gain a Parliament representative of the people. Every important function will be represented by men and women immediately concerned. We shall have a

true cross-section as—a functional community, not a cross-section of the windbags of the nation, expert in nothing but deceiving a mass electorate at the polls.

METHOD OF ELECTION

It is obvious that the Occupational Franchise is completely opposed to the present Party System. No one would represent a trade or occupation on account of his association with a former political party. The elector on an Occupational Franchise would be more concerned to return a man of sound sense and real knowledge of his occupation, than one with any particular political outlook.

The best we can say for a political party is that it stands for some philosophy roughly defined as Conservative, Liberal or Socialist. At its worst, it falls to the level of a corrupt association for distributing the spoils of office. Even at its best the political party is a poor instrument of self-government. Surely before a people can make any effective progress, it must make up its mind to a common philosophy of life as a first step. Especially is this necessary in the modern age, which calls more and more insistently for a planned State. Such a State can only be built upon a firm philosophic basis.

A candidate will not stand on a vague general party platform in the old sense of the word; but he may advocate any concrete policy for the industry capable of realisation within the structure of the Corporate State. New men will come forward as protagonists of new ideas of industrial and social organisation much more readily than they can under corrupt democratic politics, and will make their names by constructive administrative work instead of intrigue.

Voters will enjoy a free choice, having a vote for each vacant seat in the industrial constituency. Every man or woman of one year's standing in the industry will possess a

vote whether employed or not. On the employers' side members of the. boards of directors (not shareholders) managers, and other members of the organising staffs, will possess direct votes. Shareholders will possess an indirect control over voting—by their election of directors.

Women will possess equal rights, both as candidates and voters, except where there is a sufficient block of either sex to warrant special representation—By this means women will be guaranteed a much larger permanent representation than they have been granted under so-called Democracy. Women's interest's will be represented by women, especially in the domestic sphere, where housewives and domestic servants will return a solid block.

It may be asked how the electors are to become acquainted with the candidates considering the large size of the constituencies. There will not be the same need to hear and see the candidate as there is under the present system, for the candidate will not be some obscure politician, but a member of the elector's own trade or vocation, probably well known to him by repute. Through trade papers, the post, meeting's at technical centres, and judicious use of the wireless, it should be possible for occupational candidates to make themselves. at least as well known as are present candidates to the mass of voters.

Another advantage is that it enables the electorate to express an opinion upon a number of different subjects simultaneously. The question of improved wages for miners was of burning interest at the last election, but was completely submerged by the Abyssinian conflict adroitly dragged in by the astute Mr. Baldwin as a red herring across the path of pacifist Labour. Under the Corporate State it will be possible for the mining industry to express an opinion upon this subject, without prejudicing the power of the farmer to express his opinion of the success or otherwise of

the marketing boards, or of doctors on matters of the public health. This will give a valuable guide upon informed public opinion at each election. This contact between Government and realised under the Occupational Franchise.

PARLIAMENT

Present day Parliament is hopelessly incompetent. Not only are members elected on a political party qualification poorly equipped to judge complicated issues, but the antiquated and complex rules make the passage of business cumbersome, and give the opposition unending opportunities for obstruction. When we bear in mind that Parliament is the only source of legal authority on national, economic and even many local matters, and is, therefore, continually overloaded with a flood of pending legislation, we realise how inadequate this eighteenth century machine must be to grapple with twentieth, century conditions.

How will British Union restore Parliament as a useful instrument of government? First by reducing the work it is required to do. It is absurd that Parliament should concern itself with such matters as the Spindles Bill, which is a matter for the Cotton Industry itself. Industrial Self-government will relieve Parliament of much legislative clutter. A great volume of present parliamentary business upon industrial matters will be disposed of by people far more competent to deal with it than are present members of Parliament.

A very important function remains, for the proper development of which Parliament must be released from pettifogging detail. It is here at the heart of the Corporate State that all general questions must be decided. This is the true function of legislation. Too long has Parliament concerned itself with the detailed wording of complicated measures, which are drafted for it by the expert civil

servants of Whitehall. Detailed elaboration of fundamental principles is an executive, not a legislative function. Parliament should concern itself with fundamentals laying down the principles upon which Government and the executive organisations will act. These principles will bear the form of legislative Acts, as at present, and it will be the duty of the Judiciary to see that they are properly carried into detailed effect.

The occupationally-elected House of Commons will be fitted to undertake this work. Even though occupational franchise may seem wasted in a House that does not deal with detailed questions of administration touching the various industries, it will be extremely valuable to have expert opinions of the effect of general principles upon particular industries. If it were a question concerning public health, doctors and nurses representatives would speak, and the House would listen to the experts on this particular subject. If the House was concerned upon some problem of defence depending upon adequate food supplies (as at present) they would listen attentively to the opinion of farmers' and farm labourers' representatives.

Quite beyond the advantage of immediate informed technical advice, even in the discussion of general matters, the occupational franchise will be of inestimable value in putting an end to the evil system of political parties, and setting free the Member of Parliament to act as his intelligence and conscience may direct.

In the British Union House of Commons political parties will cease to exist, and members will be free to vote for the first time as they think fit, after having expert opinions put before them by qualified representatives of the trades and occupations principally concerned. Differences of opinion will arise, but they will have a realist basis, instead of being artificial opposition to everything done by the party in

office. Also it will be perfectly possible for men to vote together in support or opposition to a certain measure, and then split up entirely differently upon some other measure. There will be no party ties to bring about unsatisfactory compromises and corrupt deals behind the scenes.

Parliament will be a true sounding board of public opinion. It will be relieved of administrative and executive responsibilities beyond its power, which will pass to the Government and the self-governing Industrial Corporations, but it will retain authority to determine the guiding principles upon which the State will be conducted. For this purpose its procedure will be greatly simplified and those best qualified to speak upon the merits of any measure given preference in debate. Such a Parliament will have an immense advantage over the present puppet show at Westminster, with its strings manipulated from the City of London, and will be able to play its important part in the national organisation of the Corporate State.

HOUSE OF LORDS

The House of Lords is a complete anachronism, having lost any vague resemblance to its original purpose. In its original form it fulfilled useful service, as it was composed of great landowners and churchmen assembled to advise the King on the administration of his kingdom. It was natural that it was an hereditary house, for the ownership of land has been an hereditary privilege from time immemorial.

Also we must remember that in those days, ownership of land was no sinecure, but implied responsibility towards tenants and a function of service to the overlord and ultimately to the King. It was to implement this duty of service to the Crown that the Lords were gathered together to confer with the Government. In time, this association became disturbed. New Lords were. appointed who never shouldered the feudal obligations of land-ownership, and eventually the grant of a peerage became merely a reward for outstanding services to the dominant political faction. The Crown was no longer in a position to endow new peers with estates, as was the invariable custom in earlier times, and the majority of present-day peers have no association with the soil.

Inevitably this has led to a decline in the prestige of the Upper House. It is not to be expected that people should show great respect to peers, frequently of alien birth, who have obtained titles by contributions to party funds. Nor is it reasonable that the degenerate descendants of illustrious forebears should be considered suitable to undertake parliamentary responsibilities.

Under British Union, the House of Lords will be replaced by a new chamber of "notables," people who have given great service in their own lifetime. The only members of the present House permitted to remain would be the spiritual lords, legal lords and those land-owning peers who share particular responsibility as local leaders in the sphere of agriculture. Appointment would be by the Crown, but would be only for life.

Men of outstanding ability in the following would be especially considered. Literature and

the Arts. The Diplomatic Service. The Defence Services. Science and Invention. Medicine and Public Health. Social and Public Services.

Appointment would not only be a reward for signal services, but also a means of having expert advice by outstanding men readily available for national administration.

The Upper House would not be a replica of the Lower House, but would be reconstructed to undertake work for which an occupationally elected House of Commons would be unsuited. There would be greater stress in the Upper Chamber upon the cultural, philosophical and moral aspects of legislation rather than the primarily material aspects discussed in the Lower House. For this purpose, the members appointed for merit in intellectual service not excluding literature and the arts would be better equipped than their colleagues in the House of Commons. Also steps would be taken to obtain representation of organised cultural and religious bodies not at present considered. The presidents and leading members of learned societies would be suitable candidates for royal consideration as would the leaders of local cultural bodies in Wales, Scotland and elsewhere, who are striving to maintain invaluable local traditions. Representatives of other denominations than the Church of England would be appointed, either through the heads of their hierarchy or other leaders which they themselves would recommend to the Crown. Religious thought would, therefore, have its channel of approach to save advice upon the moral conduct of national affairs.

There would always be naval, military and air experts and experts upon foreign affairs with experience of diplomatic service abroad. The Dominions would also be invited to recommend their representatives to the Crown, in order to maintain continued contact upon Imperial matters. Colonial administrators of experience would be present as a reward for their services, and be capable of giving valuable advice.

It is not suggested that all these experts and notable men should sit simultaneously any more than do the present peers. They would be considered as a panel from which the Government could select expert advisers upon any difficult problem. If any special legislation were being discussed, those peers would attend who were particularly interested, and would give their expert opinion.

So British Union demands reality in another of our oldest established institutions. It is no part of the British Union creed to destroy traditional forms of national life, but to restore the original functions of these institutions and imbue them with vitality to grapple with the problems of our age. The House of Lords should find under British Union inspiration a new life of leadership and usefulness.

THE GOVERNMENT

British Union Government will differ from present Government in the concentration of authority and responsibility in fewer hands. Detailed administration will pass largely to self-governing; Corporations, while many Government departments and even ministries will be combined under one Minister. The Government may be expected to consist only of the following ministers:

Prime Minister

Home Secretary (responsible also for Ministry of Health and all local government)

Foreign Secretary

Imperial Secretary (combining Dominion and Colonial secretaryships and the India Office)

Minister of Defence (controlling Air Ministry, Admiralty and War Office)

Minister of Corporations (controlling all present economic ministries, such as Agriculture and

Transport, Board of Trade, and Ministry of Labour)

Minister of Education and the Fine Arts

Chancellor of the Exchequer

Lord Chancellor (controlling, all legal departments and administering British Equity).

The inner Cabinet would be comprised of only three or four ministers without portfolio sitting with the Prime Minister to plan national affairs as a whole. These Ministers, who could

bear the old traditional titles of Lord President of the Council, Lord Privy Seal, etc., would be relieved of administrative duties, and would devote their time and energies to general questions. As Mosley has pointed out it is absolutely necessary for a Government to think out the problems with which it is faced, but when its members are so occupied with administrative details that they have no time to think, it is not surprising that Government shows little evidence of thought.

British Union Government will work on a different principle, vesting supreme power in a small executive Cabinet, who will be able to take a wide view. Administrative Ministers will be called into consultation in the discussion of executive action concerning them, but the final decision will rest with the Prime Minister and his inner Council, who will have complete freedom of action unobstructed by administrative red tape.

Ministers will be "ex officio" members of both Houses. They will possess the right to be represented by their Under-secretaries in their absence, so that a proper contact between Government and Parliament is maintained. British Union will drop the absurd idea that Ministers should be chosen only from among Members of Parliament. It does not follow that because a man may be a good representative of one. particular trade or occupation, that he should therefore be especially qualified for office. No harm will be done in divorcing Government office from Parliamentary representation.

It may be asked what control the people will exercise over Government, if it is thus divorced from popular representation. Clearly there can be no pro-Government and anti-Government parties in Parliament. This would be entirely contrary to British Union principles and a return to the bad Party System. Parliament must vote on the merits of each case, and not as a means of expressing its opinion of the Government in office. A British Union Government is prepared to submit itself to a direct vote at regular intervals. At least every five years a plebiscite will be taken, and the people will be given an opportunity of voting for or against the Government. By this means they will possess the most direct control over Prime Minister and Government by refusing their mandate to Ministers of whom they no longer approve. It has been argued that such an election would not be fair as no opposition propaganda would be allowed, but we prefer to believe that the British people are quite capable of recognising a bad government, when they experience it, without a lot of interested politicians pointing out its defects to them. On the other hand we are all thoroughly tired of the repeated swing of the pendulum from one extreme to another, and would prefer that the advantage, if anything, should, in the interests of the nation, be given to a continuity of governmental policy. In the event of any grave abuse of office, however, the people would have it in their power to dismiss the Government by an adverse vote.

Such is then the compact efficient form of British Union Government deriving its authority by direct plebiscite from the people themselves. No more than a dozen ministers in all form the whole Government, with an inner Cabinet of less than half that number, relieved of administrative duties to direct national affairs as a whole. With such a handy instrument, in place of the cumbersome governmental machine of today, with its many posts for place seeking politicians, the British Union Prime Minister will be able to achieve the reconstruction impossible to his predecessors.

THE CROWN

British Union recognises the traditional dual sources of sovereignty in our national life, KING and PEOPLE. This will become of the utmost importance in the event of the rejection of the government by the people at a plebiscite. The people will then have withdrawn their support from government, which will, of course, be forced to resign. Responsibility for continuity of government will then fall upon the Crown, which will not have the automatic resort to an opposition party, the "Hobson's Choice" of Democracy.

The King will be required to interpret the people's verdict and find new ministers in whom he believes the people will have confidence. The new government will then submit itself, by a further plebiscite, to the people. This procedure lays a much greater responsibility upon the Crown than does Democracy, but we have every confidence in the ability of King and Royal Family to carry out their ancient obligations.

British Union will restore the good feudal principle that land is held directly or indirectly of the Crown for service, insisting that no land is held in absolute right, but that the owners owe

a feudal duty of service to the Crown, and through the Crown to the British people. This service was originally military service, when the King could rely upon his feudal levies to protect the Kingdom in time of invasion. Today the service required is obviously economic, and will be strictly imposed upon every owner of land.

The ownership of land will again become a social obligation. Landowners will be expected to give the lead to their tenants in the proper utilisation of the soil, undertaking the personal management of their estates and living amongst the people for whose welfare they are responsible. By this means, the good social relationships that still linger in many parts will be strengthened.

In these days of overcrowding, uncontrolled ownership of land constitutes a dangerous and obstructive monopoly. What better and more traditional control could be found than the restoration of the feudal authority of the Crown? If any landowner should prove obstructive or fail in his duty, the Crown will resume occupation of his estates and pass them to some loyal subject, or subjects, better fitted to administer them in the public interest.

Finally we come to the matter of the King's Privy Council. After a Fascist revolution the relics of past democratic governments can scarcely be useful advisers to the monarch. We have no doubt, therefore, that His Majesty will agree to the abolition of the Privy Council in its present form, and its replacement by a Grand Council composed of the leading personalities who have been instrumental in the great revolutionary change.

The councillors will be appointed on the advice of the revolutionary Leader, and will be recruited from rising political personalities as these find their way into prominence. So it will be seen that British Union reserves a very important role for the Crown in the organisation of the Corporate State, and will certainly not be lacking in respect to King and Royal Family. Indeed, the Crown will regain a position of leadership and feudal responsibility it has not enjoyed since Charles I was executed by the first democratic parliament of the rapacious merchants of the City of London.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

British Union implies a centralised political system, but also devolves a large measure of self-government upon the Corporations. The question arises as to the future of democratic local government through which so much administration passes today.

Local self-government must eventually be largely superseded by industrial self-government, because the latter is more efficient and in keeping with the specialisation of modern knowledge. Before the institutions of the Corporate State are. brought into being, however, the first British Union Government must operate through the existing institutions of the State, of which those of Local Government are of great importance.

British Union will never tolerate local authorities dominated in opposition to the party in power at Westminster. No business can prosper when its branches follow a different policy from its central office, and Government would assure that its authority at the. centre will not be sabotaged by local authorities.

During the first British Union Parliament, Blackshirt M.P.s will return, after giving the Government power to act by voting an Emergency Powers Bill, to their own constituent areas, and will be empowered to supervise Local Authorities in their administration of the new measures of reconstruction.

These M.P.s will tolerate no attempts to obstruct, and will take measures to reform Local Authorities in keeping with the new age. Personal responsibility will replace anonymous committee management, individual councillors being made responsible for departments and answerable for them to the Council. If mismanagement occurs it will be possible to pin down responsibility to an individual, who will not escape by the usual excuse of shifting majorities on a committee. Obstruction could be traced to the individual, and he would be dealt with directly without deposing a whole council, on which there may be members willing to co-operate, whatever their former attachments may have been.

But the use of M.P.s as local leaders in reorganisation it should be possible to pass the transitional period without difficulty. A single purpose will be maintained, both national and local, and every resource of men and material used for national reconstruction. Great public works on roads and reclamation, re-housing and town planning, will be carried through with the minimum of obstruction. A full reconditioning of Britain for her new destiny.

At the end of the transitional period, when a new election is held on an occupational basis, the new M.P.s will no longer be elected on a regional franchise and will not be suited to undertake these duties. They will be replaced by officials, using the traditional titles of "Lord Lieutenants" of Counties, etc., but vested with considerable responsibilities and powers of local administration. Responsibility for law and order will be vested in an hierarchy responsible to the Crown, and closely paralleling feudal principles in the ownership of land.

Under these administrators the present borough, urban and county councils will function more actively in a much modified form. They will not be elected on a general franchise, but by local occupational, cultural and recreational groups. With the development of the Corporations most executive functions will pass to them. Road maintenance, lighting and traffic direction will pass into the hands of the Transport Corporation. Water supply, drainage, electric and gas Supply to the Public Utilities Corporation. Housing and slum clearance to the Building Corporation. Hospital and ambulance services to the Medical Corporation. While Police and Criminal investigation will be centralised under the Home Office, and Education under a national authority.

It is unnecessary to elaborate the advantages of centralised national organisation in all these spheres. Local administration of such services is obsolete, and must be replaced by such nationally planned organisations as the Electricity Supply Board. British Union merely meets this trend of the times in advance.

Many important functions will remain for the reconstituted councils. They will act as advisory councils to the local administrator. They will be the channels for the expression of local opinion, and will pass grievances and suggestions to the relevant Corporation. Their most important remaining function will be the. encouragement of local cultural activities, including the maintenance of local traditions, and the coordination of recreational facilities. They will play a large part in town planning, and maintain their civic responsibilities upon this higher level of cultural and artistic reputation. British Union will counterbalance 'centralisation, by a very real encouragement of local cultural traditions and handicrafts, local sports and amenities, and it will be the duty of the local authorities to extend their work in this direction.

CULTURAL AND THE PROBLEM OF LEISURE

The effect of solving the problem of abundance and finding means for the distribution of plenty will be a temporary solution of the unemployment problem. But as Science endows us with ever-increasing powers of production, we are bound to be faced once more with a superfluity of labour, as the machine displaces man. In a properly organised state this will not involve any return to the scourge of unemployment, for a superfluity of labour will be met by shortened hours, lengthened education and earlier retirement. The problem of unemployment becomes transformed into a problem of leisure.

Many refuse to take this problem seriously, pointing out that the rich have long enjoyed leisure. This is a poor argument, as the misuse of leisure by the rich is a crying scandal. No treadmill could be more wearisome to the man of discrimination than the futile succession of "events" that constitute the London Season. It would be a national tragedy if the emancipated masses were to take the rich as their pattern and base their use of leisure upon the dismal trivialities of the fashionable world.

A serious obligation of the Corporate State will be the organisation of leisure. Every Corporation will organise recreational facilities. Libraries, playing fields and social clubs supplied by prosperous and progressive firms will be co-ordinated and thrown open to all in the industry. The British Union will not be satisfied until every worker has facilities to enjoy his favourite sport and follow his own recreational hobby. Instead of playing football our young men go to see others play. Instead of training as athletes they watch dogs, horses, and motor cyclists race around a track.

This is a most ominous sign, for it is the difference between Greece and Rome, between the athlete and the gladiator. The decline of Rome included the policy of bread and circuses for the dispossessed proletariat deprived of access to work and the soil. The British people must be led back to the playing fields. They must learn that physical fitness apart from being a pleasure to themselves is an obligation which they owe to the nation. The first efforts in the organisation of leisure, especially for the young, will be devoted to sport and athleticism.

Every industry will have its own sports ground and swimming' pools in every industrial town, and its own teams to compete for the highest sporting and athletic honours. There are many less strenuous forms of recreation of equal value. Music, dramatics, literature, debate and indoor games of skill will be encouraged. Here is the answer to those who fear the results of raising restrictions upon drinking. The public house is popular because it is often the only centre of social recreation available. Already the cinema has reduced drunkenness by its superior recreational value. British Union centres of athletic and cultural recreation will complete the process and reduce drunkenness to its pathological minimum.

Thus we make of leisure not a curse, but an opportunity. This cannot be achieved by the democratic method of anarchy and chaos. A proverb tells us that "The devil finds mischief for idle hands to do," and there are elements in modern society which are not above giving the devil able assistance—at a price. Our additional leisure must not lead to the development of such a sink of iniquity in London, as disgraced Berlin before the National-Socialist Revolution. That leisure must be directed by authority into channels that will benefit both State and people, improving the physical well-being of the race by an ordered athleticism, and developing the cultural standards of the masses by recreational activity.

PATRONAGE OF ART

Opponents insist that the Fascist State is inimical to culture because it tends to deprive the artist of the freedom of self-expression. Like most such accusations, it takes for granted the enjoyment of liberty at the present time. In this commercial age, the artist is bound to the most sordid standard of popular taste, from which he can only escape by a studied eccentricity in the hope that his. audacity may attract the intellectual snobs. To call this a state of freedom is a perversion of terms.

We live today in an age of lucre. The tyranny of the majority is come. It is upon the artist that this tyranny falls most heavily, for. he is in a small minority in a philistine world. By establishing' commercial standards, the majority condemn the artistic minority to serve their popular taste, or starve in obscurity. This is not freedom but the harshest of tyrannies. It is not surprising that art has sunk to a low ebb and that artists should form a rebellious Bohemian community, intent, mainly, upon shocking the hippopotamus that crushes their talent, but seldom succeeding in penetrating its thick philistine hide.

Art is the expression of the spirit of the whole community, or it is nothing but neurotic self-exhibitionism. If art is to recover its prestige it must receive generous patronage. The philistine majorities are unfitted for this tactful undertaking. The aristocracies of the past were far more successful in patronage of the arts; as were even the "nouveau riche" Roman capitalists like Maecenas. Our millionaires fall far short, and there is something humiliating in subordinating artists of genius to be the paid servants of the rich.

The Corporate State offers the artist his own honoured place in the national life. A special corporation will give him self-governing powers and enable him to equip and train himself and his fellows. This corporation will enjoy special protection and support.

It is only by giving the artist his proper place in the national life and granting him means of protecting his own interests that we can save culture from the decline due to decades of neglect. The Corporate State will maintain a much closer contact between artist and people. The mass, in their recreational hours, will be encouraged, by reduced prices and special facilities, to visit concerts and opera, theatres and exhibitions of pictures and sculpture, so that the artist no longer lives apart as a Bohemian rebel against society, but enjoys the patronage of the people themselves.

To prevent the extension of living by proxy, the people will not only be encouraged to view the works of the professional artist but will be given every facility to develop their own amateur talents. The rise of the machine has ruined handicrafts and damaged artistry. British Union will combat this tendency by means of recreational organisation which will be largely devoted to restoring lost handicrafts. The. ideal is that the man who has just left tending the automatic machine that turns out hundreds of shoes an hour may yet return to his own last and turn out a hand-made pair of shoes as good as any made by mediaeval craftsmen.

It would seem a good measure, in order to curb the cruel, drab mediocrity of the machine age. to obtain the best simple forms for mass production and then forbid the manufacture of

any articles of decoration by machine. Let us use the machine to produce necessities and banish poverty, but the reproduction of articles of decoration by the million is killing artistic impulse. The man who, not so long ago, would have produced some vase or picture frame at his own work bench or with his own fretsaw now walks down to Woolworth's and buys the same sort of article for sixpence.

As recreational schemes develop, the tendency will be to restore handwork as an artistic hobby after the day's work on the machine is ended. A hobby that may well become increasingly profitable as an appreciation of handwork returns and machines are restricted to the manufacture of simple necessities and complicated mechanisms. No longer will the mantel-pieces of the people be adorned with Birmingham-produced "Presents from Margate," but with the products of the skill of members of the family and their neighbours. We may even see a return to the beautiful decorated hand-made furniture of Chippendale and Adam. Without following the vista of a returning age of art and artistry, in which artist and people will recover their lost harmony, enough has been said to show the absurdity of condemning Fascism as the enemy of culture.

Considering the hopeless decline of artistic accomplishment throughout the demo-Liberal era, any such accusation comes badly from the reactionary supporters of the present order. A revolutionary urge that restores the national spirit of the British people may well recover the Tudor atmosphere that gave us Shakespeare and the greater triumphs of English poetry and drama.

ORGANIC PURPOSE

No greater mistake could be made than to regard the Corporate State as a mere mechanism of administration. On the contrary, it is the organic form through which the nation can find expression. Fascism is no materialist creed like Communism, which sets up, as its only purpose, the material benefit of the masses. Fascism is essentially idealistic, and refuses any such limitation.

Fascism recognises the nation as an organism with a purpose, a life, and means of action transcending those of the individuals of which it is composed. To limit such an organism to a purpose within itself, to the mere service of its constituent parts, would be a denial of the whole philosophic concept of the Corporate State.

No active organism can adopt a self-limiting purpose. There is always striving towards an external goal or development would cease. Man himself, as an organism composed of many million cells, does not consider his whole purpose one of self-indulgence, or at least such men are rightly condemned by all moral authority.

The man of worth will sacrifice his immediate welfare to the needs of his career. Similarly, the Corporate State must not be considered solely as a means of good government. It is also the means of self-expression of the nation as a corporate whole in the attainment of its national destiny.

This does not involve a claim of divinity for the State. The very suggestion of purpose debars any claim to divinity, for the divine is perfect and cannot have a progressive purpose. On the contrary, the State is in grave need of spiritual guidance in the attainment of its purpose, which is the achievement of national destiny in accord with universal moral law. The fact that Fascists condemn the present form of the State and the form that it has adopted in Soviet Russia shows that the Fascist does not accept the absolute, authority of the State as divine. He judges the present State by absolute values that transcend all states and advocates the adoption of the Corporate. State because this will be in better accord with the divine law.

The Corporate State is then in no sense absolute, but must conform to the universal moral law as a human institution. On the other hand, it is only through co-operation with others in the organic purpose of the State that the individual can attain his highest potentiality. There is no need for any conflict between individual and the State, as neither can exist without the other. It is only by a true balance between the needs of individual and State that progress can be achieved for both. The Corporate State, with its functional organisation of human effort in a communal purpose, best achieves this essential balance.

It may then be asked what is this purpose, this destiny, for which you desire to prepare the nation. Here a little becoming modesty would not be out of place. One has become heartily sick of the rationalist materialists who, like Mr. H. G. Wells, know exactly where they are

going. We set no limit, especially in the cultural sphere, to the achievement of the nation. We know that we are not merely preparing the nation for war, for, unlike our internationalist opponents, we are perfectly prepared to recognise and sympathise with the national aspirations of other peoples. We know that mere material satisfaction of the needs of the masses is not our ultimate aim but merely a means of releasing the people from sordid material pre-occupations to take part in the great adventure. What then is the purpose of the Corporate organisation of the national life?

May I, as a humble member of the nation, profess my ignorance of the divine purpose upon earth which is our destiny? All that we can do is to prepare a fitting vehicle for the attainment of that destiny, to give the nation that organic form instinct with life, which will enable it to play its part in the great events of future world history.

This, however, at least we may say, that the mediaeval people who lived in hovels and built cathedrals were nearer to a realisation of the divine purpose than we are today; that the Tudor Period, the high point of our own national life, found its expression, not only in the seafaring and Empire building of Walter Raleigh and Francis Drake, but in the philosophy and science, of Francis Bacon and the poetry and drama of William Shakespeare. It will be in recovering the "age of faith" of Christendom and the vital energy of Tudor England that we may realise in part the great future of our nation.

CAMBIO, DESPUES EL REVOLUCION

By **Ziotio (Uncle) Garibaldi**
el revolucionario fascista—Tijuana, Mexico (2007)

(CHANGE, AFTER THE REVOLUTION)

Translated from the Spanish by H. R. Morgan

THE PURPOSE OF this book is to quiet the fears of the general public in the event of the inevitable national revolution. When this happens all functions of the national and state government will continue uninterrupted.

All those who are national citizens will continue to expect all governmental departments to remain open to the public for any and all social and state services.

Those who are currently receiving state aid in the forms of social security, medical vouchers, disability checks, child care, housing aid, food aid, prescription aid, retirement pay, and other such vital social supports will continue to receive these legitimate benefits.

Synarchist partisans and national syndicalists stand ready to immediately fill all posts of government and various governmental agencies as needed. Upon assumption of power it is true that of necessity large numbers of government positions will be vacated.

We, along with the parties of revolution will provide for the people, being already prepared with more than adequate

numbers of qualified personnel, trained and well experienced in the private sector, to fill all such vacated positions.

The transition will be fast and without interruption or inconveniences to the public in general.

We believe in 'human rights' above 'civil rights'. For example, you have the right to not have your head cut off by the drug bosses; your children have the right to not be gunned down (shot up) in the streets by criminals and gang members. Women have the right to not be raped and brutalized. You have the human right to not be bullied and beaten by police who's responsibility is to serve and to protect the public.

You have the right as, human beings, to clean drinking water, clean air to breathe, good medical treatment, safe working conditions, safe well kept roads, good housing, reliable electricity, decent worker pay, health benefits, good schools for your children, affordable nourishing foods, affordable and available medicines, safe reliable public transportation and neighborhood streets that are safe to walk in at night.

Every peso generated by the petroleum industry should be used toward the building up of this society. Our goal is to create a nation that is economically secure and powerful. The people of this nation are proud, strong, and determined. Let us live up to our potential. Let us fulfill our national and cultural destiny.

This land belongs to you, it does not belong to the government, it does not belong to the drug bosses, it does not belong to the international finance Capitalist monopolists who pump your oil out of your land to sell it overseas for money which the suffering people never get a single peso of. Just because they have some pieces of paper from the government saying that they can do it, does not

mean that it is right. They have only pieces of paper which they value more than the lives of this country's citizens.

This country would be an earthly paradise if not for these things that are being continually done against the national interest.

Let us make this a land where people want to come and live, rather than a place to escape from.

AGENDAS AND SOCIAL POLITICAL POSITIONS

WE ARE NEITHER 'right wing' or 'left wing'. We are, rather, strait in the middle. However, we are by no means 'moderates'. Only that we combine some of both positions that we may constitute a more 'centrist' ideology, but, not centrist in the common sense. We are the extreme radical 'center'.

We are completely open to members of the other races and ethnic groups that are part of our Mexican society. We are aware that alienating and singling out entire social groups causes the alienation of the masses as well as offending the electorate.

We strongly affirm that different nations have the inalienable human right to their own self-determination—this is quite simply the truth of human reality. And, Sinarquism is completely and firmly based in 'reality' and the existent realities of life. However, we are not isolationist. We seek to become, as the great nation we are, an active force in the international community.

We believe in free enterprise; our idea of free enterprise is noticably different than that of most peoples. We are completely against global international finance Capitalism which is disasterous to all national economies throughout the world, the facts have proven this to be so. But we do believe in the ideal of free enterprise.

We do not believe in traditional style dictatorship, instead, we believe in a republican form of Government (*which incorporates 'direct' democratic methods*). As far as armed and violent revolution, our Party does not stand for killing people for the sake of "getting our way".

Sinarquism may be classified as a form of Fascism. Fascism is just another political ideology; it has absolutely nothing what so ever to do with Hitler or Nazism. Fascism is based upon the social and legal principles of the old Roman Government and is in no way a racist doctrine.

We absolutely advocate separation of church and state, but that does not mean a separation of God from Government. This nation was founded on Christian principles and that is the way it must stay. We are living in a state of darkness and negligent tyranny in Mexico, and the time has come for these evils to end.

Although we believe in free enterprise, but, realizing this, we must also admit that (*industrial*) corporate conglomorates interfere with and eventually ruin competitive markets.

Mexico must be considered first in all instances of foreign policy decisions, and that no other nation shall be issued special or preferred status by Mexico.

All workers should be organized into a vertical trade union (*a national labor front*), and that such a union shall become a bridge between the employer and the employee.

We desire an all volunteer Mexican Armed Forces that is better trained, better paid, and better armed than all other armies throughout the world. Such an Army will be better prepared to continue to fight the current war against the drug cartels; such an Army will emerge totally victorious.

We believe in the rights of other nations to their own self-determination and we have not the right to interfere in their private internal conflicts and political affairs.

Education is a human right which must be comprehensive and must, though regulated by a just and beneficent Sinarquist Government, be above all a local and regionally managed institution.

A system must be created that assures that all who need health care get it. However, we insist that all medical decisions are to be made between the citizen and their physician.

Mexico was founded upon Christian values and we must defend our civilization against outside attack.

Mexico, as a nation, must be active in preserving and protecting the natural environment, while at the same time avoiding damages to free enterprise. We also need to achieve total and complete energy independence from foreign countries. This can be accomplished within a span of no more than ten years; this shall be realized and actuated through developing what is called "Green" fuels. This can best be brought about as well as the strengthening of the Mexican economy through an extensive program of private and public partnerships which connect the Sinarquist Government with the people.

We know today that the practice of what is called 'free trade' has greatly caused much damage to Mexico and sends unbelieveable numbers of jobs overseas and to the United States while causing the so called 'Third World' to become poorer; rather, we advocate 'fair trade'.

Mexico needs to become far more active in enforcing its laws, and among these laws are laws against illegal immigration. Every day Mexico loses countless workers that find it necessary to flee across the Mexico-United States border to find employment. We must continue to fight and put into action more resources; we need to station Mexican Army bases along the border not only to prevent illegal immigrations but also to intercept illegal drug shipments toward the final victory over the drug lords that are waging a deadly war here within our own country.

The Government needs to immediately repair our deteriorating national infrastructure through pouring many

times more resources into it. This will also provide jobs by employing the currently unemployed workers in so many public works projects. Thus, helping the economy as well.

There is, in fact, what is called a 'New World Order' that has been instigated and created by the United States and by global international finance Capitalism which Mexico needs to combat with everything at out disposal. A first step in this 'combat' is for Mexico to remove itself from the United Nations, NATO, and all other New World Order organizations.

Mexico must get to the root of violent crime once and for all through the use of a renewed National Army.

Mexico must also put an end to the abuse of the so called 'eminent domain'. The Constitution nowhere says or implies that Government may seize the private personal property of citizens so as to give it to someone else, namely, the private business corporations.

There must be enacted a cap on profits for all industries guilty of price gouging. First among these being the oil industries. There must also be put into action a system of profit sharing for businesses such as these as well as others of similar tendencies.

But, all of these plans will come to nothing as long as unregulated immigration continues to grow, as regarding the issue of foreign pauper immigration. A new and revised Aliens law must be worked out and passed into law making it compulsory for a would-be immigrant to show and demonstrate that he is able to support himself and his dependents, and that he is mentally and physically fit.

The principle of a nation defending itself from amassive inflow of undesirable persons is not a new or novel idea, however, under a new Sinarquist system of Government these often illegal immigrations will be much harder if not

entirely impossible for drastically foreign peoples to come into Mexico and settle here in a country that already has a population far greater in proportion to its size than most other countries.

Mexico is for the Mexican people! This is an absolute ideal. With work so scarce here there is no justification for allowing foreign nationals to come into this country and compete in the already scarce labor market and accept a much lower level of wages than that which Mexican workers would tolerate. Mexican workers for Mexican work is not asking for too much.

As for those foreign people already living in Mexico are concerned, as long as they abide by Mexican standards which are laid down by the Sinarquist State, they shall be allowed to work and to live on the very same basis as Mexican citizens. There will be no discrimination and no persecution due to religious practice or even race.

Foreigners who violate the economic code of Sinarquist law or the social code shall be immediately deported. A foreigner that is a habitual criminal or a social deviant is to be deported because this country has no use for residents of such a nature.

A foreigner who for his own selfish gain undertakes in industry a hard and cruel method of overworking young boys and girls only to pay them niggardly wages, who attacks each and every standard of remunerations is most definitely an industrial criminal, causing intense injury and is a most undesirable scoundrel. Under Sinarquist Government in Mexico he will without any delay be deported and banned from re-entry to Mexico.

We only insist that all people in this country observe a code of social conduct in their economic and social relations. Mexican citizens that fail to meet these social obligations will be punished by the Mexican courts such as these courts

are arranged today; but foreigners whether they are wealthy financiers maintaining their businesses from Mexico City, without regard will be deported.

But if they follow the economic and social laws and give respect to the Sinarquist rule of Mexico first they may fear nothing. The criminality of the unscrupulous and dastardly foreigner must and will reach its final end in this country.

There is yet another thing we are to make statement of. We do not care what people do in their bedrooms at night. We so not care about peoples' sexuality. What you do with your bodies and whith whom is a non-issue with us. This so called homosexual 'rights' thing is not important to us, All of us have much more important things to deal with. So so far as homosexuality is concerned, just leave us alone, we are not interested.

Yes, there are issues of morality. However, there are so many important things to be accomplished that we just can't afford to spend time on certain matters at present. And, while speaking about morality, establishing a doctrine of state atheism was one of the biggest mistakes made by the Marxists.

Here is where the Synarchists were smart. Sinarchism deals in active realities and thus is aware that people tend to blame everything on God. This being so, they allowed the people to maintain their religions uninterrupted.

State enforced atheism makes the State assume the position of the divinity. Therefor, without their religions the people will blame every little thing on the State. We already blame the State for all manner of things, so why add the responsibilities of God to the list of complaints?

Ziotio Garibaldi and the National Syndicalist Party-USA

SYNARCHY, SYNDICALISM, NATIONAL CORPORATISM AND THE WORKING CLASS

IN SUCH A country as Mexico, the welfare of the working segments of the national population is of considerable importance to the coming revolutionary state. We will increase the standard of living and the quality of life for the families and dependents of our nations laborers.

Our economic policies will bring increased purchasing power to the people. The system that is called 'autarchy' is a social, economic, and national condition of being to which we will aspire. It *(autarchy)* is the policy of national self sufficiency.

We will create an economy where the people can easily afford to purchase and consume the products that are manufactured, grown, and originate here. This will increase the number of employment opportunities. Retail businesses will prosper also.

The purpose of the revolution is to further the interests of the people of the national community. Through nationalization of such monopolies which the people must rely on for their survival we will increase their standard of living and quality of life.

These industries that qualify for nationalization are the petroleum industry, the textile and large scale metal fabricating and building industries (only if they have reached a size large enough to affect the well-being of the national community), the distributive trades, and the monopolies controlling mining, refining, fabrication, and employment of all raw materials within the national borders.

To further enhance the domestic economy an immediate critical review of all import and export practices will be carried out. The new national government will not allow the importation of any products or materials that are already produced domestically. Domestically produced materials will also not be sold for export for augmented profits overseas when they are needed nationally for the benefit of the domestic population.

Only products and raw materials that cannot be produced domestically shall be allowed to enter the country.

Under the Synarchist, Corporate Syndicalist, Cooperative social nationalist government, state funds shall be devoted to construction of new factories, new hospitals, more colleges, safe and healthy housing, increased domestic infrastructure, new farming collectives, and other endeavors beneficial to the promotion of the people.

When we have taken control of the national government there shall be immediately put into action a nation wide program where we shall take possession of all derelict factories. These old and obsolete factories shall be repaired, re-tooled and renovated.

We shall install new fabricating machinery and provide structural reconstruction to provide a safe work environment. This is to be the new government's investment for rebuilding the national domestic economy. Employment opportunities shall be created.

To begin functioning of these refurbished factories the new government shall assign a complete management staff chosen from the most qualified members of the new revolutionary party. Only people shall be chosen who have proven themselves to be totally dedicated to the ideals and goals of the Synarchist programs for national renewal.

Each reopened factory shall be legally constituted as a

collective institution. There shall be a complete cooperative system permanently established. This shall involve a rationalized and fair program for quarterly profit sharing throughout the entire labor force employed within each factory.

It shall be made clearly known to all employees that the operation of their particular industry can be successful without the leadership of the Capitalist and dominating 'class' of social parasites currently holding ownership and having complete managerial control. Joining together as a 'team' the workers can bring about efficient production. With the policy of profit sharing shall increase worker efficiency. It is not necessary for the factory laborer to tolerate any so called "ruling class" of exploiters who cheat them of their proper share of profits and benefits of the work of their hands.

Syndicalism insists on the idea that all who work shall enjoy the wealth fairly generated by their labor. There is no need for the continued existence of a "boss class". Syndicalism combats all actions of monopoly Capitalism that continues to maintain its economic and social strangle hold on the employees. Our determination is without compromise; we shall establish and assure the control of workers of industry and its rationalized levels of production with firm resolve that profits shall be distributed fairly throughout the employee base.

The limited semi-nationalization of the oil industries in the form of syndicalized cooperatives complete with a generous rationalized profit sharing, complete medical and dental care, workers insurance, full and adequate retirement plans, and dignity for the employee are what we demand.

We will use portions of the national oil profits to create safe roads, desalination plants, solar and wind powered electrical plants capable of supplying the entire national

population, canals for movement of water for the farming currently unfarmed land, old age pensions, and social monetary benefits for the handicapped, crippled, injured, and mentally ill.

This country is one of the richest producers of fossil fuels. It is absolutely true that the only reason that so many people are poor, sick and suffering and in extreme want is the selfish materialist greed of the international finance Capitalist 'class', and the self-seeking for personal affluence and power by a government that does not have the best interests of the general population of this country in mind. So, forget about so called "civil rights" just for now; we are in such a state of dissipation that we demand 'human rights'.

WORKER CONTROL THROUGH SYNDICALIST 'DIRECT DEMOCRATIZATION'

SOCIAL JUSTICE AND economic fairness is the cornerstone of Corporative Syndicalism. We believe that citizens possess the absolute 'right' to work for the best interests of their families and for themselves without unjust or un-necessary interference by others who peruse an anti social or greedy self interest.

Corporate Syndicalism shall not interfere with the operation of shopkeepers or those who own farming enterprises and workshops or pursue the creation of new businesses so long as these concerns do not violate the revolutionary ethic and the social, the economic, or the programs of national popular renewal.

Syndicalist policy shall leave at liberty and encourage individual initiative. The demands of the new revolutionary government of Corporate Synarchist Syndicalism are only that the creator of new industry obey the social law of proper and fair wage levels and provide a safe work place for their employees. The citizen shall be protected under law; the entrepreneur shall receive encouragement by the new government to work towards the benefit of the whole of the national society.

Business concerns that have become large enough to affect the surrounding communities and the lives of thousands of people will be syndicalized. They shall be placed under direct administration of those who have been employed in them which will replace the former controlling position of 'share holders'.

Workers in these newly syndicalized industries shall vote

at established intervals to determine the leadership structure. Only members from among the current labor force shall be considered eligible for candidacy for positions as Directors, chairmen and all other executive positions within the particular industrial concern.

All employees shall have an equal vote in these affairs.

At the end of certain predetermined periods in the year the distribution of percentages of profits shall be undertaken directly by the Directors who have been elected by the workers. Directors will be directly responsible to the workers assemblies. There will be a system of accountability. Questions will be asked by the employees and they must be answered fully and without deceit by the elected Directors to the satisfaction of the employees.

Directors and management employees shall be reviewed periodically by the workers' assembly, evaluated by agents of the new government and then either re-elected or replaced. This will happen on a yearly basis or sooner if the industry falls into difficulties.

The new Synarchist government will not contract out national building projects to private Capitalist businesses, being those who have not benefited the general welfare of the population. Instead, all projects shall employ laborers enrolled from the unemployed masses. Positions will be filled by the national labor front and with members of the trades syndicates.

Under the Synarchist government new roads shall be built, new hospitals, schools, community centers, housing, and bridges shall be established. This shall employ many workers. This shall increase the living standards for many families and give hope for the future.

The Synarchist government shall establish a 'National

Labor Front' inwhich all workers shall have the option to become registered in. This registration shall be a totally optional choice for each individual and shall not become a requirement, ever.

The National Labor Front shall, however, provide job placement. It shall also entail the full worker benefits including such necessary programs as maternity leave for expectant mothers, child day care centers, full medical and dental coverage, worker insurance, profit sharing, and reasonable and safe housing options.

This is not a form of corrupt 'liberalism' or a form of mandatory Marxist style socialism; this shall be, rather, a truthful approach to the realities of life. All of our ideology and doctrine as well as our policies are completely founded in the realities of human life.

Liberalism and militarist nationalism along with the over riding plague of internationalist finance Capitalism are those things which have kept the national population in a constant state of want and devastating poverty.

Ziotio Garibaldi and Oswald Mosley

SOCIAL POLICY

THERE IS A grave travesty occurring within this country. Domestic resources are not being used for the benefit of the citizens of this great and richly endowed nation. The people are the nation, and the land belongs to the people.

The time of international finance Capitalism has outlived its usefulness and its initial social purpose. Where once it served to build the nation and employed thousands with fair wages, it today exploits the workers who are at once under employed, under paid, and are without labor rights. Under this Capitalist monopolistic regime the worker is without even the human dignity he deserves.

The land is the peoples.

Workers are left to their own without adequate worker accident insurance. They do not have the proper and modern supports which are common in other nations throughout the rest of the world.

And to top it all off, they are robbed by a lack of realistic profit sharing. Their labors bring the raw materials from the mines and the oil fields. The sweat of the laborer harvests minerals from the earth, their earth, to be taken away by Capitalists who sell the rightful property of the people to countries overseas with no portion of profits accruing to them.

Every drop of oil that is pumped from Mexican soil, every kilogram of minerals and raw materials harvested from Mexican earth to be sold on the international market is the moral, ethical, and actual property of the national population; of all national citizens, each and every man, woman, and child.

To continue to sell the national wealth of the nation overseas for the sole benefit of some large monopolized private corporations is to continue to rob the people and to continue to murder their dreams, their hopes, their desires for the future and continues to murder their children through uncaring negligence both willful and vicious.

The mineral wealth alone is more than adequate to completely modernize the entire country and provide quality medical and hospital services for all people within the national borders; all people.

The land belongs to the people.

Today Mexico is literally falling apart. There seems to be little that we can do about it. The eugenics and abortion activists are marching forward, global warming is heating the world up, war has spread throughout this world, the economy of this country as well as others is in a shambles, our status as a respected nation is quickly becoming a thing of the past, immigrants are flooding both into and out of Mexico and we have no adequate welfare system to support them, our jobs have been relocating to other countries overseas, we have an imbecilic administration who finds it impossible to address these issues, and political parties that will never arrive at a workable solution no matter how long they exist.

Mexico is living in a state of extreme chaos, and it is only becoming worse. Each and every day we are informed that crime is on the rise, or that still more people have died in this current war against the international drug cartels. Pay no attention to what the news media says for, they are all too preoccupied with pumping filth into the minds of our children while they are watching television and certainly this is only after a stressful day of indoctrination and lies while attending a failing school system taught by the liberal academic elite.

So, it seems that we are doomed as a nation. Not so! We, as a people have had enough. The Sinarquist Movement intends to fight on, no matter what we will never give up.

And, we embrace the system that is called National Syndicalism. What is national syndicalism? The entire basis behind it is that all citizens are organized into a vertical trade union. What a vertical trade union does is create a protective covering for labor. Instead of only being a small bargaining group that represents one side in a lopsided battle, this union builds a spirit, establishing a link between both the employer and the employee, all while keeping the righteous spirit of the legitimate labor union alive.

The problem with the Parties of Government is liberalism. The problem with the Government is hypocrisy. They pretend to be the Government of moral leadership, but, they are obviously the party of a different kind of immorality which is represented mostly in greed and materialism. What we now have is a foolish 'left' and a 'right-wing' fueled by nothing but love of money.

The National Sinarquist movement considers itself to be neither 'left' nor 'right'. It is the extreme 'center'. What truly makes it separate from the rest of the politicians is the fact that it actually desires and seeks to do something about the many problems which are belaboring Mexico today. We are joined together to eliminate the problems of the Mexican people. We are determined to make this nation the best nation that it can be.

Imagine a Mexico where the borders are secure, where our jobs are secure, and a strong moral order permeates all sectors of society. This can be easily imagined. The national Sinarquists can imagine that, and we are ready and willing to labor toward such a grand and glorious future for every man, woman, and child.

We believe that the health and well being of the people

must come first; this is our reason for being. We are peaceful revolutionaries who actively fight for the good of the common people. It is also our stated mission to end corruption in Government and to save the people who have become hurt by actions and lack of action of the Plutocratic representatives that have son seats in the national assemblies through lies and deceit.

We shall replace these criminals with true trustees of the Mexican nation, and with those who will truly represent the vital interests of the Mexican people.

After saying all this, I would like to move on to still another aspect of the activities of the National Synarchist Union. Mexican Sinarquistas spent a lot of their time among the people. They are helping those who need their help.

We must feed the starving, clothe the naked, heal the sick, give hope those who are in despair, provide shelter for the homeless, create good healthy living spaces to the ill, find strength for those who are weakened, reveal Christ to those who are spiritually lost, find the means to provide dental care, medical assistance, and medicines to those in need; we will place good shoes on the bare feet of poor children and find psychiatric treatments for the mentally ill and the phychiatrically disabled. For, if National Synarchism does not do it, we can be certain that the current government will not.

We shall create small local schools, establish free health and medical clinics, build nursing care recovery centers, and provide counseling for people trying to overcome deviant habits and obsessions as well as for those who are experiencing emotional stress. These are the sum of the social and community action performed by the volunteer Synarchists.

Honesty is our strength, reality is our firm foundation, sincerity and integrity are what characterizes and gives us

the God given energy, power, and strength that we may carry on and put forward the Synarchist agenda.

Unlike all other political Parties in Mexico, National Synarchism is excellently and actually doing something for the Mexican people which shall have a truly lasting effect. Through the efforts and activities of National Synarchism many thousands of individual lives are being improved; their intervention is saving lives and reuniting families. These are also things that the Society of Uniformed Fascists, the National Syndicalist Party-USA, and the Spanish MSR—Movimiento Social Republicano work and strive toward.

National Synarchism will substantially improve the lives and the sense of personal well being of the great masses who are currently neglected by this present system and by an un-caring and negligent national government.

There is also a plan that the prisons will be reorganized. Hopeless criminals such as murderers, gang members, sexual perverts and rapists, along with organized crime figures, serial killers, the flesh merchants of prostitution (namely "pimps"), child molesters and the worst of the worst shall be placed within special prisons built exclusively to house them, so that such as these can not victimize those who are minor offenders and the non-violent convicts i. e. Prisoners.

Still other incarceration facilities will be created to house minor criminals. These new prisons will be used as reformatories with opportunity for education, vocational training along with psychiatric treatment and therapy.

These shall have the primary duty to reform these non-violent offenders thus making them good citizens upon their release back into Mexican society that the public may feel safer from the newly freed and gainfully employed former criminal offenders.

Retirees, the elderly, the handicapped, the disabled and those who are developmentally disabled will receive the best of care and substantial pensions, cash amounts, and aid for the provision of nourishing foods. They will receive proper housing and helps in their daily lives.

Let it never be said that the the Blackshirted Fascist is uncompassionate! For, it is compassion that rules our souls and motivates all of our activities.

Public transportation shall be increased to properly meet the needs of the people and the Synarchist State will see to it that the people have adequate means to get both to and from doctor's appointments and other such important places they will need to go.

There will be plenty of day-care centers for working parents (provided by the State) as National Synarchists shall establish them across all across Mexico.

This will help single parents and provide and provide still much more needed employment opportunities for the unemployed.

As a priority of the new government, there will be a substantial raise in worker pay to both soldiers and the National Armed Forces.

The Mexican National Army will be far better equipt. New mobile artillery (viz. Tanks), artillery and aircraft, better uniforms and weapons will be domestically developed and issues to Mexican troops.

National Synarchy, after assuming governmental power will strive to make the Mexican National Armed Forces one of the best armies in the world. Most all military weapons will be manufactured in Mexico, providing still more employment opportunities for the workers.

The current and un-remitting war being fought against the 'drug cartels' shall be won by such a better trained and

well equipt National Army.

The Mexican-American border will be better secured.

Persecutions related to race or ethnicity will be put to an end. Synarchism has nothing to so with racial discrimination; good citizenry is what we care about regardless of whether a person is an Indian, a Negro, Asian, European or otherwise different from the general Mexican population.

There will be made of Mexico a land of opportunity for all citizens. A country of both strength and integrity. There will be, for the first time in its history, justice and fairness in a 'classless' society for the people who are of the great nation of Mexico under the new government.

Such change is truly revolutionary and such change can only be created and permanently established through the election to government of the National Synarchist Union-Party.

Ziotio Garibaldi and the Synarchist Manifesto of Mexico

LIBERALISM, AND PSEUDO DEMOCRATIC REPUBLICANISM, THE BANE OF THE COUNTRY

A LIBERAL IS A courageous, ego driven enemy of the people, and his policies go against nature. Their belief system is based on social fantasies; their ideology resembles more of a 'religion' than anything that is supported by empirical facts.

Liberalism tears down 'reality' and then proceeds to build a social, political, falsely ideological and economic construct based almost completely on a whimsical outlook and their own egotistic desires. Their entire program is a system created out of pure fantasy. Therefor, all that they accomplish and establish or place into action on both the social and political governmental levels are already doomed for social failure.

The liberal contrivances are totally 'materialist' and are therefor deeply joined and are firmly fitted together with international finance Capitalism. The political Parties currently ruling Mexico are all part of this fantastical heritage which is completely based in 'materialism'. They are driven, too, by the insatiable desire for wealth. They ignore the expressed will of the voters and are always open to bribes and payoffs from the special interests and are owned, in body and soul, by the vested interests.

Presently the great masses of the citizens of Mexico have no real political freedom. Under National Sinarquism the people shall have freedom. Of what value is the vote if the people never receive what they voted for? The beginning of true freedom for the Mexican people shall be when the programs that they voted for begin to be carried forward.

Sinarquism does not cause an end to freedom, but, rather, the beginning of an actualized freedom. True freedom is economic freedom and this freedom cannot be made manifest until economic chaos is brought to an end.

True freedom is found in good wages, reasonable work hours, employment with security and legitimate worker benefits, good and ample housing, opportunity to spend quality time with family and friends. Such a civilization can be created through modern technology. It is not created by a Government that prefers talking and still more talk over taking action. The choice today is between the freedom of a few professional politicians to talk and the freedom of the people to live. Sinarquism makes freedom possible and frees the people from economic slavery that is tied to them by the Government that is all talk.

Ziotio Garibaldi and Oswald Mosley

A CLASSLESS SOCIETY: THE PEOPLES' STATE

The following by Oswald Mosley and Ziotio Garibaldi

THE PEOPLES' STATE has opportunity and a place for everyone who serve in the interests of the community and nation; there are very many kinds of ways to serve the nation.

A Sinarquist system of inherited properties is properly designed to encourage firstly the initiative and activities of the individual by both laboring for themselves and, with a special spiritual intention, in working for the benefit of their children. Secondly, it is created to do away with the social class parasite and to curtail all inherited advantages of those who are proven to be undeserving of their ancestors' labors as these upper class ingrates have become unworthy of the nation.

A man or a woman may work to enrich themselves and also to leave the wealth and property generated by their labors to their children. However, the children must engage in a service or services that are of social benefit to the nation which is equal to the inheritance they have received, or else in so failing they will lose their inherited advantages. Tribunals for Equity of Peoples' Justice shall be created to determine the facts regarding an individuals use of their time, energy, money, and property as to the best and ethical interests of the public welfare.

Opportunities for public service in the community shall be provided by immediate and necessary needs in the creation of the new nation which will require leadership and

effort in areas that are currently lacking. An active local leadership shall be needed in a revitalized countryside. The originating property owners will, in most instances, provide the needed leadership.

This system will consciously seek the continuity of a local population with deep roots in the land. It will put an end to the criminal practice of imposing so called ‘death duties’ on inheritors in return for true and active service to the soil, the community and the surrounding lands.

However, the land holder who does not spend his time, money, and energy among his fellows in local leadership, but rather, spends his time in country clubs, or the seeking of his own pleasures will be dispossessed without recompense. The land acquired thusly by the State will be used for the establishment of owner occupier farming projects and agricultural reform. The result will be a mixed local leadership of owner occupier with local leaders that will develop and shall conserve the finest traditions of the land and will establish a solid regional stability.

For the urban landlord/property holder will apply the very same policy as will pertain to any other monopolist. Attempts to exploit a shortage of any commodity through raising prices to the people shall be forbidden by law and actively prosecuted. All rental prices shall be strictly controlled by law.

The landlord who presides over a ‘slum’, that is, renting substandard, unhealthy and dangerous buildings and properties to the public will be dispossessed without recompense and will also be legally prosecuted in the courts in the same way as any supplier of commodities that pose a danger to the health of the public.

The landlord that tries to gain wealth in taking unfair advantage of community efforts that he has taken no part in by increasing the price of his property, rents, and land in the

environs of an expanding town or industrial endeavor shall be taxed on his own contrived valuation of such properties and the People's State will have legal power to acquire it at that particular valuation. If he assesses it at a large figure he shall be taxed at a high figure and if he assesses his property at a low figure it will be bought at that figure by the State with benefit to the nation.

Now, one of the evilest occurrences of the Plutocratic hereditary system that will be eliminated by Sinarquism is the inheritance of property and great wealth that has been amassed by energetic financiers and speculators whose children have no sense of the hereditary social responsibilities incumbent upon their hereditary inheritance. These children do not possess the ideal of social trusteeship nor do they have a concern for the well being of their fellow man.

From such as these comes the demonstrated debauchery of publically exhibiting extravagances and parading their wealth in the face of poverty. This causes all Sinarquists to demand that "none shall stuff while others starve" ***(Oswald Mosley—'Tomorrow We Live' London, England 1938)***. Their engrained beliefs are strictly founded on money without regard to anything else. By birth as their father's child they maintain that this is what gives them the privilege to raise themselves far above their fellow citizens. They are in all reality nothing but "miserable specimens of modern debauchery" ***(ad ibid. Mosley).***

We then view the spectacle of the social class parasite gaining his arrogance from the labors undertaken earlier by his father and demonstrating the ideals of the wastrel by openly squandering his money in the face of a starving population.

We must appreciate a person for what he is and not what his parents were. If the inheritor contributes good service to

the community and the nation he shall maintain his social status. To labor not just for money, but for honor and integrity among his fellow men is an essential trait of human conduct. The awarding of medals and honor, as also with money, achieves great service and can be inherited by his children. But, as with all hereditary wealth, it shall be removed if the children prove to be unworthy.

Tied to this ideological doctrine as it relates to the pursuit of the overcoming of class friction is the system of education. A complete revision of the educational system, in recognition of national education, the deliberate aim of Sinarquism is finally to eliminate the last trace of 'class' arrogance and snobbery.

Education will afford to all the same sound basis of 'classless' and national education, subject to the right of all parents to secure for their children the religious and righteous atmosphere they desire. However, later education shall differentiate widely not on the principle of wealth but purely on the principle of innate talent.

At present, the children of the rich are educated until 18 years of age. The children of the poor are largely thrust into industry at the age of 14 irrespective of natural talent for the higher education which is denied. It will be the policy of a Sinarquist Government to continue the education of all by varying methods and degree until 18 years of age.

Therefor, the Sinarquist Union will make it possible to continue education for all until an age when they can be regarded as truly mature and are prepared to enter into industrial life. The opportunity open to every child will be the same, and the same path to education will be available to all talent. However, those who can not benefit beyond a certain point or level of academic education will undergo different forms of education and training and specialize for some definite vocation i. e. 'vocational training', or 'trade

school'.

The Peoples' State under a Sinarquist Government secures the principle of opportunity for all, but privilege to none. Every Mexican citizen shall have equal opportunity in the land of his birth, and therefor, equal possession and a love for that land.

Thus shall be established a true patriotism, that is determination to build a land worthy of a patriots' love. This is very different from Conservatism's exploitation of the profound emotion of nationalism to guard their vested interests which possesses Mexico today.

Today patriotism and progress are divided by the Parties into opposing groups when in fact they should be completely united. Love of country has been exploited by reaction, and hatred of country It is has been exploited by those who masquerade in the clothing of 'progress'.

In reality, patriotism dies without progress, because the continuous advance of humanity alone may build a country worthy of love. However, progress dies without patriotism because the first object of progress must be the elevation of the native land. We love our country and we love our people, and for that reason we stand both for patriotism and for progress in the union of two great principles that the sham war of the political Parties has divided.

We ask patriots to join with us in building a country worthy of a patriots love, in which the 'class' distinction of the arrogant snob and the privilege of the social class parasite will exist no more. In the place of 'class' and privilege will arise the real brotherhood of the Mexican citizenry to give equal opportunity to all in service and possession of their native land. Long live Mexico!

POLICY FOR IMPORTS AND EXPORTS

THE ISSUE OF the importation of cheaply produced and cheaply priced foreign goods and produce is indeed a grave matter for the Mexican economy. Factories close down due to the fact that they simply cannot compete. For every factory or farm that collapses and shuts down hundreds and thousands of workers become displaced.

For the current Government to continue to allow the mass importation of foreign products which were formerly manufactured here at home is deliberately criminal which makes such politicians liable for all of the social misery suffered by the Mexican people. This is truly a form of high treason. An intentional betrayal of the citizenry. Such politicians as well as the international monopoly Capitalists must some day be arrested and put on trial for Crimes Against the People and for Treason.

We must face up to the reality and declare that the only possible way in which it can be done is to totally prohibit the importation of all the categories of manufactured goods that can be made here. Foreign goods can and must be kept out, and a Synarchist Government will not hesitate to place an embargo on them.

Mexican Synarchism will not tolerate the mass importation of foreign products flooding the national market as this will put millions more Mexican citizens out of work. It will close down the factories and it will utterly destroy the Mexican national economy. The worker and the people come first. All other considerations are secondary.

‘THE EVILS OF INTERNATIONAL MILITARY ALLIANCES’

INTERNATIONAL MILITARY ALLIANCES that are completely based on international trade considerations for the sole benefit of the large trade monopolistic corporations for the sole benefit of the large trade corporations of privately owned industry for the sole benefit of a few wealthy owners are completely for the sole enrichment of a few wealthy owners are totally counter to the, can politically to the will of the common people of the nature to the will to the will of the common people of the nations’ They are based upon a ‘subsidiary.

Alliances that are based on International trade commodities, are treason to the national population and must be ended and by any and all means necessary which are at the disposal of the divine brotherhood of the Mexican people.

THE CORPORATE LIFE; LIFE UNDER SYNARCHISM

The following by Oswald Mosley and Ziotio Garibaldi

THE CORPORATE STATE insists on national unity. It rejects class warfare. It enforces the right of the citizen to cast electoral votes based upon a form of what is called 'direct democracy'. Also, through the establishment of worker syndicates, domestic syndicates, pensioner, disabled and the handicapped membership in particular syndicates, medical, professional, and specific skilled trades syndicates, along with several other categories representative of the community and society that make up the nation, there will be opportunity for such members to cast their votes on specific matters and issues affecting their particular sphere of life.

The people will not only have a vote for the national Governmental elections, they will also have the right to vote on most domestic issues, foreign policy, and issues of proposed legislation. As members of a syndicate they will also vote on subjects which directly affect their trades or their social positions. The Corporate State will institute true democracy. There will be no more of the sham "representative democracy" which allows professional career politicians to vote in national assembly in any way they wish.

In 'representative' democracy the candidates are hand chosen by the special interests and the masters of the financial and Capitalist sections. This means that the people have no opportunity to look for the best candidates and

choose for themselves those whom they will be voting for.

In 'representative' democracy the candidates chosen for the voters, having been chosen by the wealthy oligarchy and the Plutocracy along with the vested interest monopolists will not represent the voting public. They will instead corruptly represent the vested interests of those who have paid for their electoral campaign.

We believe that the people should be able to vote in quarterly polls to decide all important questions. Issues such as, should we go to war, should taxes be increased, should public transportation be renewed, should the Armed Forces be refurbished and by just how much; foreign aid, strengthening the Mexican—U.S. Border and by how much, prosecuting a total war policy against the powerful drug cartels, increasing old age pensions and aid to the disabled and handicapped, eliminating the inheritance tax, or prosecuting obviously corrupt politicians. The list may go on indefinitely.

Life in the Corporate State will include building of new roads, schools, hospitals, retirement homes, factories, regional and local medical clinics, day care centers and this list also continues.

Life in the Corporate State means free or reasonably priced medical, hospital, and prescription drug costs. It ensures clean, safe housing. It eliminates the pornographic industry. It makes it relatively safe to walk the streets at night. It provides nourishing foods and it creates permanent jobs with benefits.

Through elimination of all imported goods that can and are produced here in Mexico, there will occur vast opportunities for permanent and steady employment of our workers. Each year Mexico loses many thousands of its best workers who, not being able to find good jobs here, find it necessary to cross illegally into the United States. By the

building of new factories, work shops, and increased agricultural output we may keep our citizens happy, healthy, and here.

The vertical trades union and the creation of a National Labor Front will be equipped to place unemployed workers in gainful employment. Under a Synarchist Government anyone who desires a job will get one. This is a fact. Those who are not qualified for certain jobs will be offered the opportunity to attend a trade school and to enter on the job training programs. For the academically inclined there is also the option of attending one of the State Colleges based on a Government grant program.

We will build our own automobiles. We will grow our own food and cotton crops. We will reawaken the textile industry, the metal fabricating plants, the glass factories, the live stock trade, and the armaments production facilities for the adequate supplying of our Armed Forces and the Mexican Navy and Air Force.

Such National endeavors, once more, will create jobs for the laborer. This will in turn place a good amount of money in the hands of the workers. This will make it possible for the workers and their families to afford to purchase the products that they and their families are in need of at a reasonable cost. This will be entirely due to autarchy and an establishment of an insulated economy.

The products of the nation will no longer be sold to other countries, creating a shortage and higher prices, when they are needed here at home. The financier, speculator, and the ruthless monopoly Capitalist will not be permitted to increase prices of domestically produced goods and commodities through the over selling and exportation of the production of the nation.

Mexico is capable of growing more than enough foods to keep food prices low. Mexico is able to create an automotive

industry for the benefit of the people, where low prices for purchase of a vehicle, that is both domestically made and reasonably priced so that the average citizen can afford to obtain one, is possible.

Mexico's abundance of raw mineral materials will be used to fabricate all manner of products necessary to the needs of the people. Factories can turn out all manner of instruments and metal commodities. Spoons, forks, knives, crockery, dinner ware, steel building components. We can produce an unlimited supply of high quality clothing and other textiles. And, under a Sinarquist leadership we will do it. The first rule is that things must be done.

Within the Corporate State there will be all manner of social supports. The oil and mineral mining industries will immediately become nationalized; all profits to be used to make these projects happen. All that is needed is the will to act, and National Synarchy is the only entity capable of accomplishing this as Sinarchism is not beholden to any private interests.

By the term the 'Corporate State', National Synarchists mean an ordered system, working on the principles of cooperation and under the guidance of experts. We intend to substitute a system in which Government will not operate for any one 'class' or section of the community, but for the whole of Mexican society; in which finance, and the entire organization of manufacture and distribution will be marshaled and coordinated to serve the proper ends of the nation. This Corporate State is the next stage in the evolution of the industrial organism.

This condition of controlled Capitalism, which we call the Corporate State, proposes the creation of public Corporations for Industry and Finance. All production and distribution will be organized and controlled; nothing will be left to the whims of chance, and above all, nothing will be

left to that stupidity known as ‘economic warfare’.

Organization and ‘team work’ are the key notes of this policy, and both these ideas are in keeping with the best traditions of the Mexican people and are accepted in the everyday life of the country.

The Mexican people particularly understand the significance of ‘team work’ as it relates to liberty. They are quite fond of and like a brilliant individualist, but they despise a selfish individualist.

“The Corporate State is neither State nor Capitalistic autocracy, nor is it even a loose federation of syndicalized interests. It is essentially an attempt to break away from the mechanistic concepts of Liberalism on the one hand and of Marxian socialism on the other, and to model national life upon the natural lines of human development, and of human physiology” (Jorian Jenks—1938)

“So in the Corporate State every member has functions and responsibilities; he shares in the common life, the common task, the common wealth. He may own property sufficient to his needs and appropriate to his position; he may own and employ capital in order to make his contribution to the national welfare. He has rights and privileges, but also duties and responsibilities. The State does not exist for his convenience, but neither is he its servant; he is an integral part of it.”

“The Corporate structure is built up on the productive elements of society, by virtue of their qualifications as producers. The individual unit will continue; the factory, the mine, the shop, the farm, will not pass under centralized control; on the contrary, the great combines which now dominate industrial and commercial life will be resolved into much smaller units. But, each industry or group of industries will be co-ordinated and regulated by its own representative Corporation, in which employers and

employees will share equal responsibility, and on which the community as a whole will be represented by members of other corporations or by Government nominees."

"Each Corporation will be responsible for wages and working conditions within its own industry, for regulating prices and adjusting output according to demand, and for representing the industry in the councils of the nation."

"There will be Corporations representing important non-industrial elements of the community such as house wives, the professions, education, and pensioners. Essentially they will be groups of persons bound together by a common task and common interests, and possessing a common qualification. They will be accepted as expert authorities within their own social spheres."

"Co-ordinating the whole will be a council of Corporations, consisting of delegates from each Corporation, under the presidency of a member of the Executive. This council will naturally become a national economic clearing-house, a symposium of functional experts. It will take over the control now exercised by Finance, and direct the flow of currency and credit."

"It will be a more effective expression of the will of the people than anything which 'representative' democracy has yet produced and a more effective instrument of economic government than anything which Finance has yet devised."

"The allocation of executive posts purely on Party lines shall be eliminated. The Corporate principle, in any case, reduces appreciably the need for Ministerial heads of government departments, just as the principle of leadership disposes of the Cabinet system. With the democratic system of representation goes the oligarchic system of government."

"And so the Corporate State emerges as the full

expression of that team-spirit, that abiding sense of loyalty, that desire for national unity, which is inherent in the Mexican character and which has been frustrated time and again by the Party system and the tangle of vested interests which have grown up with it. It is essentially a totalitarian state. It is the only kind of State which can possibly cope with the tremendous issues that lie ahead, with the tremendous opportunities which are ours to grab hold of, and to throw away the tremendous dangers of despotic international collectivism and can at the same time provide opportunities for that self-expression that is the birth right of every individual." (ad ibid, Jorian Jenks)

THE MOST IMPORTANT RULE OF THE BLACK SHIRT MOVEMENT

HERE IS THE most important rule: All problems must be approached with the aim of putting the interests of the nation first.

All sectional interests must be subordinated to the national interest; no one section may use its power for its own selfish purpose.

We wear uniforms but we are unarmed and will continue to be unarmed, for we desire to win our victory at the ballot box. We do not contemplate marching on the capitol and seizing control by force of arms or forcibly turning out the corrupt members of Parliament, Congress, or the National Assembly.

Ziotio Garibaldi and Oswald Mosley

THE REASON WE WEAR THE BLACK SHIRT

'WE WEAR THE Blackshirt because the color Black best expresses the iron discipline and determination of Corporate Syndicalism, and Synarchism in the conquest of first the Communist anarchy and today the battle against international global finance Capitalism.

Symbolism is in itself nothing new in radical and extreme social politics. The Conservatives who are naturally shy about their creed wear pins and various symbols on their business suits. The Liberals wear their own different devices during election time. The Socialists wore red neck ties. Integralists wear green shirts in Britain and blue shirts in Brazil. Falangists also wear the blue shirt.

In symbolism as in our creed we are more full-blooded people and, literally as well as metaphorically, have also placed our own shirt on these matters.

Our members are not compelled to wear the Blackshirt. In most districts only about one in twenty wear it. But those who have worn the Blackshirt in the early days and publically proclaimed their faith before the entire world, have performed a service to the movement which will never be forgotten.

'Strongly held opinions, strongly expressed, are a necessity in the chaos of a flabby era. The Blackshirt, therefore, is the symbol of Fascism.' (Oswald Mosley 'Fascism: 100 Questions Asked and Answered'—Black House Publishing LTD—London, England 2012)

We wear black shirts for several reasons. When all members are dressed similarly, social status and 'class' are forgotten, together with all the other shams of modern

civilization: and we remember only that we are embarked on a common cause, that we recognize no artificial distinctions, and above all that we have no hatred for those whom fate has thrown into a different sphere.

This does not mean that we are so foolish as to imagine that all men are equal. Some possess talents that others do not, but we insist that whether a man is styled as a laborer, a skilled worker, a technician, or a "professional", all men and all women have a fundamental right to a place in society.

All that we ask is that to whom these rights are accorded should, in return, be prepared to further the interests of society as a whole, and not their own sectional interests.

Another reason why the Blackshirt is worn is that it enables one member to easily recognize another. Frequently our meetings have been attacked by Communists and Marxian Socialists as well as the rabid Liberals and in the melee that has often times resulted, our people, properly uniformed, disciplined, and trained in the art of self defence are in a more advantageous position for defending themselves against aggression.

In passing, it can be said with absolute truth that we have never attempted to interfere with political meetings organized by Conservatives, Liberals, the Marxist labor groups, or Communist Parties. Some of our opponents have endeavored to prevent us from holding meetings and have attacked our speakers. On such occasions, our Stewards (actually Black shirted and helmeted shock troops), who are trained for the task, protect the speakers at indoor meetings and eject persistent interrupters in the same manner that they are ejected at political meetings of other Parties.

I am a Blackshirt. I proudly wear a uniform and political service medals that I have earned and was given during the Cold War period by my superiors for taking part in social activism similar to the activism of the National Synarchist

Union of Mexico. We must stand up for what we believe in, especially in today's world of extravagant apathy.

We may have differing customs but we believe in the same ideology and we struggle for the same things. As for the patriotic and community conscious Sinarquists, both our goals are identical. So, if one is put off by our use of the term 'Fascist' I say, don't get mad, get honest.

Sinarquistas! Viva Mexico!—Viva!

SOME ADVANCED THOUGHTS ON CORPORATISM

By ***Knut Berg***

'Attack' Journal numbers 1-3

DURING THE LAST couple of years I have been thinking a lot about the issues of corporatism, and how Corporatism should be organized. In Italy the full corporative system was implemented in the mid 1930's, after almost ten years of a single man dictatorship under Benito Mussolini. Mussolini ruled the country okay, but I think that the system of corporatism and corporations should be established as soon as a Fascist regime takes power. Unlike the Italian Fascists, the British Union of Fascists made a full corporative plan, written down by Alexander Raven Thomson in 1938. An elaborate plan such as Thomsons should, in my view, be made by all Fascist Parties, in that way, making them ready to grab power and put the expertise and knowledge of the people to good use as soon as possible.

A corporation by definition is put together by four different groups of people, all working within an industry. These are experts in the field, workers, employers, and consumers. The corporation will have 50-50 workers and employers representation, one of each for every profession within the corporation, and also one of each for the really big companies in the field. The expert group will have sufficient people to cover all the fields of knowledge needed the field of production, and the consumer group will have one for each main product bought. All in all, this becomes a

rather large group of people, between 80 and 120 for each of the twenty-two corporations as they were organized in Fascist Italy. Each of the corporations had a two week session in the House of Corporations, and during these weeks they fixed wages, some prizes, as well as guiding the planning of some new construction works.

Proposals could be made by majority veto, but the ministers were ordered by Il Duce to negotiate until consensus was made as often as possible. Creating a consensus with such a huge amount of people is not easy, but majority veto is problematic as well, keeping in mind such problems as permanent minorities and the fact that all four groups are equally important. Also, the time limit created by making all the corporations share the same meeting hall is problematic. Therefor, Thomsons idea of spreading them out in the country is a good idea. Not only will each corporation have its own meeting hall, but they can be placed within the area where most of the industry is clustered, that way drastically reducing traveling time for the majority of the representatives.

My suggestion is to make a rule where each group within the corporation (consumers-workers-employers-experts) must have a majority approval within their block, in this way making sure that all four groups are happy with the final bill proposed, even if the number of experts and consumer representation is way lower than the number of workers and employers. The minister in charge can choose to speak with some of the groups separately during the development of a proposal, and then gather everyone together for final approval or rejection.

A typical policy proposal will start as a general idea of political direction made by the head of state and the inner circle of ministers, and this idea will then be channeled down to the corporation involved for further adjustment.

Such an idea can be something like a gradual end of subsidies to an industry, adjustments within the field of wages or working conditions, where to place another big factory or other installation planned by one in the employer group, or how to make the country self sufficient on certain products to counter threats of trade embargoes or high international prices. The minister in charge can make no policy on his own without the approval of the corporation, but on the other hand the corporation cannot force through something without the approval of the minister.

In Italy a new minister would have to be approved by the corporations he was in charge of before being allowed to enter the position, and this is something that I think other corporative systems should copy, Probably by majority vote within each group of representation rather than just a simple majority vote of the whole body.

In order to coordinate the policies made up by each corporation, the minister in charge should bring the approved proposal back to the council of ministers for final approval before the plan can be implemented. If the plan is refused, then the minister needs to go back to the corporation to readjust it in compliance with the directions given by the other ministers and the head of state. It goes without saying that each member of the corporation is elected by the union or organization he or she represents.

The workers come from the labor unions or syndicates, one for each profession, and the same goes for the employers—one for each employer organization.

The experts are elected by the other people within that field of expertise; for example for an annual conference—and the consumers come from consumer organizations. In order to make the system work, some completely new organizations might have to be created for the sole purpose of corporative representation, and the big union blocks both

within the field of workers and capital must be split *apart, as such as these do not fit in to the plan.* The new system will mean that strikes and lock-outs *both* can *and are to be banned,* since the majority of the workers have agreed on the policy, *since better* income levels and working conditions *having through Fascism, become superior within* the corporation.

In Italy all representatives within the corporations had to be approved by the ministry of corporations before being allowed to represent the others in the corporation, and this ministry often blocked representatives that were suspected of involvement in illegal political groups. If a representative was blocked, then the union or organization that had elected him had to choose another representative. This system could be adopted if the country is endangered by Communism or *Marxist* Socialism, but if not it would be better to let the system work without such obstacles.

One thing that I think Corporate Syndicalism can be especially good at is directing polluting industries in a more environmentally sound direction. Among the expert group within corporations that guide heavy industry, environmentalists should also be present. An environmentalist organization capable of supplying all the industrial corporations with the correct expertise should be formed.

Such expertise should also have seats within the corporation of infrastructure, where it can help guide the planning and implementation of gradually improved public transport. Through corporatism, Capitalism can be planned and guided towards a society that is both energy efficient and ecologically sustainable. **The Fascist State should move toward the gradual abolishment of personal cars** *(Note: this is madness!—HRM),* as they are energy inefficient as well as being a major contributor to CO2 emissions.

Experts on our ecological systems are also crucial to corporations dealing with the extraction of natural resources such as mining, fishing, or farming. *(Note: this also is madness!—HRM)* Setting up fishing quotas is impossible without such experts, as is limiting the usage of pesticides or artificial fertilizers within the farming industry. **Since_the fish,_plant_life,_wild_animals,_and_farm_animals_are incapable_of_representing_themselves,_experts_and special_interest_groups_must_defend_their interests** within the corporative system,

Both the Mussollinian 22-corporation system and the BUF proposal of 25 corporations, as well as the slowly evolved system of 11 corporations developed during the Salazar government was limited to fields of production. **My proposal is to also expand corporatism to things like foreign policy and taxation.**

A tax corporation should be headed by the minister of finance, and be equipped with experts in macro and micro economics, as well as one representative for each level of income—lets say that you classify the population into five income levels. A corporation for foreign policy should be made up by each chief-general for the three major weapons branches, as well as a representative for the ambassadors on the employers side.

The worker representatives will come from **the unions of soldiers and embassy workers, accompanied by one expert for each continent. Consumer interest in the field of foreign policy may for example become interest groups within trade and tourism, but these details will work themselves out** as various interest groups apply for entry into a corporation through the ministry of corporations. I believe that a corporative system will start out with a relatively small number of organizations represented, and then gradually expand as

more interest groups apply for a seat.

The ministry of corporations must have in mind that all professions within a field, all important forms of expertise needed, and companies so big that they are an important cornerstone in the national economy must be represented. Here, specific standards can be set from the number of people it needs to employ before it is allowed special representation. The corporations should have a limit to the number of people it can have aboard, perhaps something like 120. When not gathered for sessions, the representatives for the corporations will work within the field they represent.

(Note: these are some interesting concepts that were built upon the ideas of Alexander R. Thomson; I think that this writer has a good future as an 'expert' in the Fascist movement as well as being a lucid thinker. I appreciate his words—HRM)

THE ALPHA AND THE OMEGA OF PUBLIC DEBT

By Joseph Stables

THE DEBT CRISIS is one of those critical aspects of economy discussed confusedly and with little inclination to be understanding to a wide audience what on a planetary scale is infecting entire continents like Europe and vast Arias of the planet as North America, India and Japan. We will try here to clarify and provide a common thread to all sorts of data, news and statements of economists and politicians, who in the media are offered in a fragmented and unformed, convinced that the real question concerns more crisis-related the appearance sovereign debts than on that of the euro.

Debt-or other non-sovereign debt is what once was termed State debt, when this topic was relegated from newspapers more political pages in economic ones. Today, according to the definition given by ***the "Maastricht Treaty"***, represents the total financial commitments of the Member States, in the form of loans contracts resulting from the accumulation of a negative difference three their revenue and their expenses. It is related to three spheres of Government: the Central Government, local and social security systems. Originally just in ***Maastricht in 1992***, EU Member States had agreed that the deficit does not exceed the 3% of gross domestic product (GDP) and public debt would remain below the 60% of GDP. Objectives completely failed, as is evident from macroeconomic data. If Europe does not sing victory, on the other side of the Atlantic do

not smile: in any United States Government spending is financed to the extent of 42% from loans. The most indebted industrialized nation is Japan with a debt-to-GDP ratio equal to 236% (1), but this being largely debt held by Japanese citizens, the land of the rising sun is sheltered by the unknowns of the international conjuncture.

Spending on interest paid to holders of government bonds is called "debt service" and coast to Italy almost 90 billion euros annually. Namely that in 2013 the Treasury will pay 5.6% of GDP by way of interest (2). Essentially this article is going to become the first post of the State budget, before the national education, defense and security.

But who do all this money? Basically, financial markets to banks, insurance companies, pension funds and certain credit company. They are the ones who buy Italian debt. In the light of the foregoing, it is today through the debt management States that financial markets are structured and organized. In turn these individuals reciprocated this debt that they purchased in multiple forms, such as derivatives, giving them full freedom to speculate in the stock.

As it has come to this? The causes are many: the budget deficit (the deficit is Italy from several shines), inability to master the public spending, partly due to deindustrialisation relocation's, deregulation, privatization and so on.

But anyway, what contributed most to the rise in the national debt is the financial rescue plan agreed by States between 2008 and 2009. To save banks and insurance groups have caused States to use their time to market loans, which helped to increase their debt so enormous. Only in the United States are the 800 billion dollars, 117 billion pounds in Britain: a rain of money that has allowed banks to strengthen their balance sheets but not to finance the real economy. The four main central banks (Federal Reserve,

ECB, Bank Of England and Nippon Ginkō), have injected between 2008 and 2010 approximately 5000 billion dollars into the world economy. The most significant historical money transfer from the public sector to the private sector. A transfer that has allowed saved banks of creditor States of their saviors.

Today the concept of debt is strongly associated with monetary creation mechanism. Open credits from private banks are scriptural purely accounting operations, namely, that allow these individuals to create ex-nihilo money and consequently a "purchasing power" transferred to customers seeking loans. The 90% of the money supply flowing, just to be clear, is this type of coin. The multiplier effect of credit allowed by the fractional reserve system allows the banks to pay several times the amount of their funds.

Maurice Allais, Nobel Prize in economics, wrote: "*In essence, the current monetary creation ex nihilo by the banking system is identical, I do not hesitate to say, the creation of money from counterfeiters. Concretely, it flows in the same results. The only difference is that they are different people take advantage of*». (Mauriche Allais, *La crise mondiale d'aujourd 'hui*, 1999)

The current crisis, as it is known, began in the United States in the summer of 2007, with the story of subprime mortgages. American families, already in the grip of generalized, systematically make loans to get into debt to maintain life artificially in their standard of living, have collapsed (3). Mortgages and bankruptcies have multiplied exponentially creating a earthquake in U. S. banking and insurance system. At this point the U. S. Government has been forced on several occasions to intervene with massive loans to salvage. The nut was taken: the crisis of over-indebtedness private was becoming a crisis of over-indebtedness.

At this point take the rating agencies whose role is now well-known. Multiple listing of a country is good, this will qualify for loans at reduced rates. Conversely a nation badly listed must cope with an increase in interest rates, which is supposed to compensate for the higher risk that banking and markets assume lending him money.

But because the States cannot provide for themselves the sums they need at the Central Bank? Simply because this is their forbidden!

In Italy, the key date is July 1981, when Bill Treasury Minister, Beniamino Andreatta, Bank of Italy did not go more in primary auctions of Government securities placement as a lender of last instance (to buy unsold bonds or cool auctions in case private investors 'bids were too low), leaving the field clear to private banks, operators and financial speculators. For honor of record, the then Director of Bank of Italy Carlo Azeglio Ciampi was known to have held positions in technical blinds from following the Tangentopoli scandal.

In summary: States, already in deficit, are forced to borrow money at variable interest rates based on the report of conduct compiled by rating agencies. Of course those interests will be repaid but, being already in deficit countries, not only will fail to repay them but are unable even to dent the debt. The States contract new loans in the first instance to run their countries to repay the amount of the previous debt eventually to repay the interests of the latter, which of course does not only increase their debts and the corresponding interest. And since their situation meanwhile will worsen, with some in torn from some rating agency, even interest rates that are imposed on them. The result is simple: more, more take to repay the loan and more have to pay. The debt thus becomes a massacre grows exponentially and inexorably from month to month. We

understand as well that the circulating money is money loaned by banks, and that the contractor must repay loan more than amount collected. A kinky endless spiral.

How to get out? The solution that the States are taking is to intervene with cuts and reforms on pensions, family allowances, salaries for civil servants, with reductions in social programs, reduce the number of civil servants, in selling or privatizing everything that can be (which obviously decreases their heritage), in establishing everywhere rigor and austerity, until you get to absurdity of enforcing payment on current accounts as recently happened in Cyprus. The problem is that those same States would meanwhile "relaunch economic growth", but austerity programs involve mechanically a burden of unemployment and a deterioration of purchasing power and demand, which can only restrain growth and further decrease the solvency of States. Eating will never tow the growth under austerity that consequently will contract as is already happening for some years in Italy. Popular and middle classes are the first to pay a hard price the ineptitude of the ruling class.

What needs to be done then? Nationalize the economy and put an end to the independence of central banks? It's that they are trying to make Hungary with the consequence of exposing yourself to a complaint for infringement of Community law "and subsequent media de-legitimization trailer. But for a country like Italy the most immediate solution is that of freezing of that portion of the debt held by foreign investment banks and sovereign wealth funds. That is why Italy also Casa Pound has put well over one of the most immediate solutions to be taken immediately to release the **usurious** spiral from Italy that has been hunted by previous Governments. The freezing of part of the debt is the second entry of the ten-point program summary and

presented for the latest and recent elections.

Politics pretends to blame to depend too much by financial markets and rating agencies, but they did everything to put under their control. They deregulated markets for decades, have liberalized credit, have allowed the relocation and allowed investment banks and deposit to merge their activities, forbade central banks to help financially, gave States the power rating agencies (which previously did not have) to give votes to the States. In the face of all this as the fruits that are collected?

It is usually defined as usury interest excessive amount attributed to a loan, but Ezra Pound has taught us a lot more. Wear is also the process that allows you to continue the contractor in a debt that can no longer repay and seize the goods belong and that he has agreed to give a guarantee. It is exactly what is currently happening in Italy and in the rest of the Western world. Writes in this regard, Alain de Benoist: "*moneylenders are traceable processes in the manner in which financial markets and banks can do as low real asset indebted States, seizing their assets by way of interest on a debt whose main component is a mountain of virtual money that will never be repaid*". (Alain de Benoist, *on the brink of the abyss*, Arianna Editrice)

That is why, in the light of what has said, the problem of the national debt is the root node from which to start to make an economic revolution in Italy. The problem of debt is, in effect, a doubly false problem and at the same time the first problems. This inasmuch as truly sovereign State debt is never a certainty or a sword of Damocles that hangs ominously over his head.

NOTES

(1) http://www.ilsole24ore.com/art/finanza-e-mercati/2013-01-15/perche-debitopil-giappone-spende-091020.shtml?uuid=AbdBNSKH

(2) http://www.economy2050.it/governo-bilancio-pubblico-pareggio-def-caro-prezzo/

(3) The credit is defined as the power to buy in Exchange for a promise to pay. The system obviously works only if this promise is kept.

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